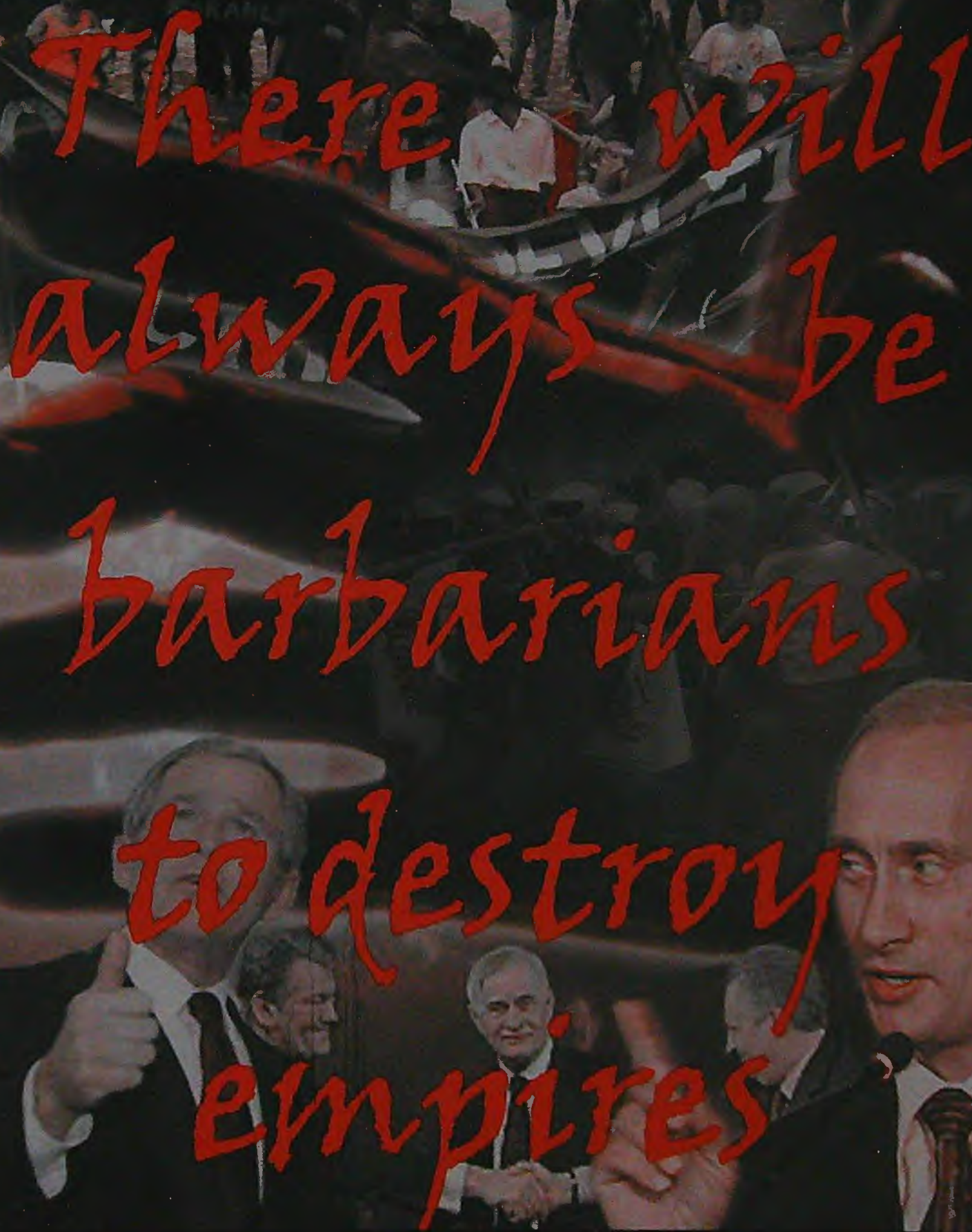


ISSUE # 20 Bi-Monthly Magazine August 2005

# ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW



There will  
always be  
barbarians  
to destroy  
empires

Anarchist Courier from Eastern Europe



There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over the borders we have created ...

## "ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW" AN ANARCHIST COURIER FROM EASTERN EUROPE

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and its effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of the continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...

### An Anarchist Courier

"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly magazine with information on different political and cultural processes and activities in Eastern Europe seen, commented on and analysed from an anarchist perspective.

### Editorial Team & Abolishing Collective

ABB is an international collective of migrant anarchist activists living in Berlin. The collective was formed in Autumn 2001 by a group of east-european migrant activists and was later joined by other migrant activists from other parts of the world. As well as this publication the collective also organizes a radio-show, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings and cultural events. We also cooperate with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and support local and global struggles against all kinds of oppression and for a free-society.

### Correspondents

Our work would not be possible without the great contributions of our correspondents from around EE. The work is based on a relatively stable network of correspondents from different regions of EE which are covering the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on no-profit bases.



### Executors

Correspondents: Dima (Lwow - Ukraine), Orest (Pristina - Kosovo); Pavel (Prague - CS), Krivash (Bratislava - Slovakia), Marija (Skopje - Macedonia), Saszka (Grodno - Belarus), Nastya (Minsk - Belarus), Aleksei, Vlad and Utke (Moscow - Russia), Tuuli & Slon (Petersburg - Russia), Domas (Vilnius - Lithuania), Ivo (Ryga - Latvia), Maja (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena-Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Kleschta (Timisoara - Romania), M. (Ankara - Turkey), Laura, Zaczek, Michu, Zbyszek, Soja (Warszawa, Torun, Bialystok - Poland), Barbara (Belgrad - Serbia), Lajos (Budapest - Hungary).

Publishing, editing, text treatment, translation, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, english-proof, distribution to the local distributors, website design ... : ABB Collective

Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB + YellowKid

### Other Sources of Info

These are: "alterEE" EE-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet info service of @-activities in Poland, ABC info bulletins, "Autonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, various EE-IMC's & others.

### Co-operation

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region.

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

### Deadlines

Deadline for next issue:

15.09.2005

## Distribution

We are looking for people/collectives ready to distribute this publication on a regular basis in their regions (especially in southern Europe). Previous issues are as well available - contact the distribution team.

## Free Copies / Print-Run

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe (which get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address. At the moment we print by ourselves 1500 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

## Finances

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our costs only through selling the newspaper so we would appreciate, if possible, benefits from outside.

## Bad enGlish Reputation

As you probably noticed *THE ENGLISH* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its grammatical and stylistic ideals. It is mostly because this is *ENGLISH* in which most of our correspondents, big part of our readers and most of us (as the editors) are communicating. So obviously we choose to use *ENGLISH* which is understandable for ourselves. Secondly, we decided to be rather "*BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION*" newspaper as to rise a level of language and this way eliminate probably 30-60% of our regular readers, especially in south and eastern Europe.

## AbolishingBB Online

[www.abb.hardcore.lt](http://www.abb.hardcore.lt)

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basically - an archive of all texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

## Not 100%

We do not necessarily agree 100% with all opinions expressed in the journal, but all here we found worth printing (for various reasons) !!!

## Front Cover

Expression of changing socio-political conditions and resistance in Eastern Europe.

Concept: collective; Picture: everywhere



This little anarchist project which just through its existence supports many others anarchist projects ... .. needs your financial support !

### page 6



## WE DONT WANT THIS EUROPE

Anarchist point of view on  
European-ness  
and EU-Constitution

### pages 7-15



## SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS

G8-summit-2006 in St.Petersburg  
The new challenge  
for alter-globalist movement in Europe?

### pages 18-20



## INSURRECTION IN UZBEKISTAN

Report about recent struggles  
and the general situation  
in Uzbekistan

### pages 22-23



## MINERS OF SILESIA LOST THEIR PATIENCE AGAIN

Background for recent protests  
and clashes in Warsaw

### pages 26-27



## Facing catholic fundamentalism

## GAY-PRIDE EXPERIANCES IN EASTERN EUROPE

### page 28-30



## Different faces of NATIONALISM AND FASCISM IN RUSSIA AND POLAND

### pages 36-38



## Interview with ANARCHO-RESISTANCE group from Bulgaria



# WHERE DID THE BARBARIANS PUT UP THEIR TENTS?

## EDITORIAL

Strangely enough, it seems we managed again to publish our newspaper on a regular basis. As written in the last courier's editorial, the old and the new people involved in our collective are definitely getting some shit done (not without the usual pain, suffering and delays - clear!!); looks like that our self critical discussion and the following changes were more than worthy to our collective.

Although, within the last few months we were also able to organise a few events here in Berlin, which costed us a lot of energy, but on the other side they were all very inspiring to us (just to name one: our collaboration with an anti-prison group "Building Bloo" from S.Francisco). Lack of money is also always more than a problem for our project, especially considering the fact that we would also like to come back with the idea of regular free prisoners subscription...

Taking a look at this new number, you will find all the usual chapters, and especially, in the form of interviews, one about counter summits in eastern Europe, looking forward, in this sense, to stress a debate about the upcoming G8 - *Leningrad Cowboys Summit*... We would also like to go on soon with the theme of reappropriation in EE, we hope (but it also depends on you all) to put out soon a second episode of it...

Since we are putting out our courier, we witnessed a fast processes taking place in the so called eastern Europe: on one side, the speeding up of the running after an equiparation towards the western european standards, meaning with this from the fast and wild seeking of the capitalistic reforms, to the involvement of few eastern countries in the Iraq war; on the other side, we see a growing multi dimensional resistance to the eastern way of neo-colonization.. And so we come to our cover...

First of all, we would like to point out that for us has been not so "easy" to decide us to put some of the already "well known bastards" on our front cover, meant as that we

don't like too much this rather simple personification of the enemies, since we think that the problem is not just a bunch of "evils", but all the system it's simply sicked and must be torn down day by day, place by place, starting around the corner.

But finally, since dealing with struggle of barbarians against the empires, we decided to put some representatives of some of the so called empires: the east European one, with mr.Putin, the european one, with mr. Prodi and few other of his fellows, and, as everybody already images, the mr. Bush couldn't be missed in this nice family picture.

So then time to present the barbarians. A lot of people are not too familiar with the term "barbarian", or rather they think of it as being only a brutal, primitive, uncivilized, uneducated humanbeing. These people may then question themselves why we decided to use this word in our main slogan. The same people can consider the photo-report from the polish miners' protests in Warsaw (pages 22-23) as another riot-porno without deeper sense, mainly to consume. For us the images from Warsaw are above all documentary of authentic frustration, anger and resistance, materialised by "our" Barbarians, which look a bit different to us. Our Barbarians are in fact often pushed behind the limit of humanity, as pauperised, exploited, criminalized, victims of gentrification, and above all, forgotten. Those are the people who at first sight of the standard western/middle class political point of view, might result simply as an apolitical and confused magma of bodies, who mostly deserve the typical definition of barbarian. Instead, we see them as people who struggle to pull down the brutal system of institutions, values, structures and relations that oppress and divide. They do it most of the time in rather spontaneous way, than as in form of completely and strictly organized response that maybe most of the activists around would recommend/prefer.

We see this process developing more day

by day, whether within the storm of the parliament from the polish miners, or in the anti summit protest taking place around eastern Europe (with just a symbolical support from the "global network of resistance"), or in the daily reappropriation process, brought spontaneously forward from a wide and different range of people.

Where did those so-called Barbarians actually put their tents? We see a lot of them in Eastern Europe, where they always lived: in the real life, as well as in the barbarian myths. In general, Barbarians are those nameless anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian people from the neo colonized pieces of the world. Neither just working-class, as many of them would hate to be called like that, nor multitude, as many would sniff in that the stink of another tool created to manipulate them, but just simply, modern Barbarians; disillusioned, angry, instinctively struggling people without necessarily better plans for the future, but not too much to lose for the present.

As to if their barbaric self-consciousness, their anger, their number, will grow fast enough to shut down one of the many empires - well, this we don't know. But, as already mentioned before, we see many positive and encouraging signs towards this direction... even just considering a small simple fact: we see them on every corner of our towns and villages, ready to go ahead. Just take a look around you, you may discover some of them closer than you think... don't be shy, but tell them - you are a little barbarian too.

On the very end our thanx go to the group CAFE LIBERTAD from Hamburg for the benefit, as too all group and persons which support our projects in different ways.

*Your Barbarians*



**TEAR DOWN THE BORDERS  
FREE MOVEMENT ★ FREE PEOPLE**

### ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

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## THE PREVIOUS ISSUES ARE STILL AVAILABLE DIRECTLY FROM OUR GROUND-ZERO-OFFICE IN BERLIN

**issue # 14 - February 2004:** The Alternative Economic Forum, Warsaw Poland April 28-30 2004 (presentation of alternative Summit intentions and topics); Building a critique of the new European Economics; Terrorism: the bogymen of XXI century (public announcement); Peoples Global Action (3rd European Conference and historical perspectives in Europe); Reports from squatting activities; Repressions (Process against Krasnodar anarchist; International solidarity needed for Romanian anarchists; When civil cops are calling - work of secret services); RAZAMI (interview with Belarusian group); Countercultur pages (The case f Nieznalska); Workers Working on their own instead of dismissals (tragic situation of Silesia region in Poland); Campaign against The US Military Base in Poland; CAUCASUS BLOCK: Uzbekistan and Western capitalist interests (part 2); Who needs to take Georgia under control (article); Neighbor war, either peace: Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan); A call for an International Day of Action against War in Chechnya; Columns by Correspondents (Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Russia); and more!

**issue # 15 - April 2004:** And what happened to the dogs (editorial article); EEF coming to Warsaw (various articles and interview with activist from Warsaw); different info about NoBorder activities; "Vote Putin or Die" - interview with Russian activist after presidential elections in Russia; International Conference "Media and Xenophobia"; "Social explosion in Eastern Slovakia"; (sub)cultural pages; Anarchist Black Cross reports from Russia and Poland; Anti-NATO activities in Hungary and Turkey; Anti-fascist report from Poland; Various shorter texts about situation in Chechnya; Report from Latvia; report from Autonomous Action conference; Columns by our correspondents (this time: Laura and Pavel); and much more stuff!

**issue # 16 - June 2004:** "so the bull-fist is more visible now" editorial article; interview with activists from Serbia before PGA conference in Belgrade; Workers protests in Poland; East-European Mayday, NATO-summit in Istanbul (interview); Slovakstudents protests; NoBorder activities reports; (sub)Culture pages; Statement by ASI concerning outburst of violence in Kosovo; New Romanian Indymedia; European Economic Forum in Warsaw - report and sum up; Unnoticed News; Anti-fascist struggles in Russia; ABC-Moscow reports; Situation in Uzbekistan; Columns; Announcements; Communities in Struggle; Upcoming events and more!

**issue # 17 - September 2004:** "Where do we get 25 black pyjamas now?" - minutes from ABB meeting in Belgrade; Council of Europe Summit - towards a citizens' critique of the EU conference, statement from Warsaw; Interview with anarchist from Bosnia & Herzegovina; NESCAFE boycott in Poland; Zero tolerance reached Slovakia already; Anarcha-Feminism in Belarus; No Culture Without Subculture - Belarus; Ukrainian Students on the streets; Interview with ANFEMA anarcha-feminist group from Croatia; Report from Ex-Yugoslavian Anarchist Meeting at Zeelenkovac; Radical Ecological Protest Campaign in Perm of Russia - chronology of actions; A place under the sun - movement against urban densification in Moscow; 190th Anniversary of Mikhail Bakunin; Personal account from anti-NATO counter-summit in Istanbul; Letters, Columns and more!

**issue # 18 - November 2004:** Editorial "No way, you will definitely not find in this issue any indications of where your cars have been seen last time - forget it!", RE-APPROPRIATION IN EASTERN EUROPE: Articles and interviews towards re-appropriation acts and processes in EE part 1; Report on Putins war-politics; Anarchist action against state terror in Moscow; Struggle in "Promised Land" of Capitalists; Presidential elections in Ukraine; Report from Slovakia; "W PASZCZU": Polish anarcho-regionalists from Vilno; Interview with Roma activist; ABC Moscow report; Columns and more!

**issue # 19 - June 2005:** Editorial "What has to die, dies. We rather improve our micro-world and go on, the same as we expect to happen on the global scale"; Just Exactly Which bench has the ABB crew been sitting on for the last 6 months?...; Balkanian Anarcho Bookfairs; Anarchist Mayday Actions in EE; Time to shake nationalist beliefs to the ground: Interview with Radio FM 105 in Pristina, Kosovo; Popular lessons of destabilisation From Kyrgyzstan; Interviews Witches flying over Skopje; "Beyond the Carpathians, the nightmare begins" - Report from Hungary; Polish Workers Organising; Squatters News; The Pope Goes Underground; Warsaw Equality Parade banned also this year!! (?); Monetization of free social benefits in Russia; Storm of protests across the country against social humiliation; Columns and more...

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# WE DON'T WANT THIS EUROPE

## ANARCHIST POINT OF VIEW ON EUROPEAN-NESS AND EU-CONSTITUTION

**A VOICE FROM WARSAW**

Many people in Eastern Europe know this image of Europe and the European Union being propagated by the media and liberal society: Europe is a cradle of civilized values or the force which promises to bring us civil rights and straighten out our corrupt, fucked-up systems. Europe and being European is the thing that's supposed to distinguish us, to make us better and to save us.

When the gay parade in Warsaw was banned again this year, euro-enthusiastic NGOs were quick to call on the EU to put pressure on the President of the City. They are so sure that liberal and tolerant values come from bureaucratic institutions that make laws that they fail to realize that greater social acceptance of homosexuals is not the making of politicians but of grassroots activists who fought 30 years to accomplish something. The EU as such, of course, did nothing. But that doesn't stop some people from believing in its supposed humanistic and liberal values.

I say "supposed" because in fact much of it is a scam. Europe has turned itself into a fortress

and in many countries, the police state has grown and spread. Further, increased imperialism and economic neo-colonialism show that it's highest value is still profit.

### EUROPA, EUROPA

It may come as a surprise to some people from the Western hemisphere that some European leftists, seeing themselves as part of a legacy of humanism and liberal values, believe that they actually spread these values across the world. Some even have a rather missionary tone when speaking of spreading liberal values across the globe through the works of NGOs and the like. For activists from the Western hemisphere, it cannot help but remind us of the history of European colonization and all that was lost when European values were imposed on native populations. The spirit of the age may have changed in details but the feeling of supremacy lingers.

In Poland we are confronted daily with the racist implications of being European. We hear about Poland's (Christian) European legacy which is used as an opposition to the East, to Russia, to Turkey, from which we are to distinguish ourselves. We are civilized because we aspire to this European tradition. (Nevermind that scenes from

Warsaw's gay parade and the statements of religious fanatics would be more welcome in many parts of the Islamic world than in most parts of Europe.) Highly placed politicians warn of

opening up the society to immigration. People from other cultures just cannot integrate into our highly civilized European way of life they say without the least bit of embarrassment. See what happens in Europe? Our European neighbours understand that they've got a huge social problem and have got to stop immigration. But not for us. We're the honest, decent kind.

As for being against any state or superstate, we are against their constitutions from an anarchist point of view, but we also felt there were compelling arguments which ordinary people could be interested in. (Apparently we were not the only ones.) Among our criticisms of the constitution was the increased call for militarisation of the EU and voting system as well as the economic agenda behind the EU project, of human beings.

With the history of Europe being what it is and with the implied superiority of everything European, it is no surprise that people who reject all forms of nationalism also have reacted against a growing tendency for people to speak of Europe-wide actions, etc. We understand that for some, this is just a geographical shortcut, that people often organize actions based on some geographical considerations. But many people have also recognized that some euro organizers are also supporters of the EU Constitution or that this euro-wide tendency betrays an inability to network on a more global scale and implies the exclusion of some others. Others have argued that it only implies the rich part of Europe; many places in Europe still find themselves outside of the euro-activist ring.

### ALTERNATIVE EAST EUROPEAN CAFE, INFO- AND MEETING POINT THE "AQUARIUM" IN BERLIN

Every Tuesday of the week between 15:00 and 20:00 you can come round to browse our library of books and journals relating to Eastern Europe, get information relating to EE or just chill out with a cup of coffee and discuss the latest news from the barricades with some good comrades.

**Infoshop Aquarium**  
Köpenicker Str.137  
10179 Berlin-Mitte  
Germany

If you're coming from out of town, see <http://koepl.squat.net> on the web (under "Lageplan") for details on how to get there





# SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS G8-SUMMIT-2006 IN ST. PETERSBURG

## THE NEW CHALLENGE FOR ALTER-GLOBALIST MOVEMENT?

While in our collective there is not one common position towards focusing on permanent confrontation against the capitalistic-summits and the critical opinions on that sector of struggle are not strange to us, we have to admit that we were quite disappointed, however not surprised, by finding out that the next wide mobilisation against the G8-summit is set on 2007 (G8 in Germany).

And not because we disagree on that mobilisation but because we have asked ourselves: **AND WHAT ABOUT THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS?** What about the cowboys' summit in Leningrad / St. Petersburg 2006? In between, we realized that the dilemma of "how to deal with this new (Russian) dimension of anti-summit activities" is for the most of the anti-capitalist activists around Europe comparable to the one of the Eurocrates towards the Turkey application for an EU-membership: unexpected, extra-unwelcome and awkward. Hundreds of questions are waiting to be answered,

many issues towards international-mobilisations re-discussed, old standards proven again from the new perspective. From our perspective, all debates around G8-SPB (G8-St.Petersburg; or if someone likes G8-L: G8-Leningrad) can not only help to sort out the most efficient strategies for eventual protests but as well to prove how global, horizontal and "honest" the global resistance in fact is.



That is why we decided to give this debate the final kick off. Being conscious of how exotic the topic can appear for many of you, we are starting this issue rather carefully, with a kind of

reminder-resume-analyses of the last 5 years of anti-summit activities in Eastern Europe (twice Prague, twice Warsaw, one time Kiev). Just in order to introduce you to the Eastern European realities in the terms of summit-resistance. However, from the very beginning it has to be mentioned that by approaching the Russian circumstances the experiences from Warsaw or Prague can be helpful only to a certain point. Yet, in terms of capacities, resources, finances, numbers of activists, and many more, it can be very worth an introduction. The interviews with our comrades from Prague and Warsaw are followed by a report from recent actions against WEF in Kiev and by first estimations from Russia. We would like to thank a lot our travelling correspondent Finn for help gathering materials to that chapter.

**Let's revolutionise the Russian roulette  
and aim at the enemy - the G8  
LENINGRAD COWBOYS!**

## RESUME OF ANARCHIST AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN MOBILISATIONS AGAINST THE WORLD-LEADERS-SUMMITS IN EASTERN EUROPE 2000-05 IN PERSPECTIVE OF THE SUMMIT 2006 IN ST. PETERSBURG

\* \* \*

*"How useful is it to make symbolic actions  
where social confrontation and class struggle in the society are missing?"*

**PRAGUE 2000, SHUT DOWN THE IMF/WORLD BANK S26-SUMMIT  
PRAGUE 2002, ANTINATO PROTESTS**

### -Interview 1-



*In September 2000 and November 2002 two bigger summits of globalized authoritarian structures took place in Prague. The first one*

*was actually the first IMF / World Bank meeting in the Eastern Europe and the second, the first summit of the NATO in that region. What kinds of strategies were used for the resistance and it is possible to compare both of them?*

It is possible to compare them. The aim of the resistance was both times to shut down the summit by different methods. It was clear before the NATO summit that the counter-activities would not reach the level of 2000 again. The mobilisation against NATO was smaller and concentrated on local and Eastern Europe level. It was not as confrontational, everything was more under control of the

police and there was more police than people. The Anti-NATO coalition had also people as security on the demonstration to avoid problems and nobody disrupted.

*Who was involved in the organisation of the counter events?*

In 2000 INPEG was formed, as an initiative of Anarchists, NGOs, Trotskists and Christians. With Anti-NATO coalition it was different. The people were fed up with the problems with each other and we made an anti-authoritarian mobilisation including fewer options to fundraise money.

# SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS



## SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS

*The IMF / WB meeting was the first melting point of international resistance in that size and quality in Prague and in former East block at all. What were the results for the local anarchist and anti-authoritarian structures?*

It was a big energy-pill, for me it was like a Matrix pill, I could not go back anymore. It was breaking the reality, new discovers. The two years following the IMF / WB summit were full of activism. Even ordinary people made workers strikes with throwing snowballs at the police. This was different before, the people were discovered through the events around IMF / WB the new ways of expressing themselves in public. Through the form of S26 protests also militant forms of protest became more accepted in society. A lot of international connections were made and the evolution of local groups was opened in an important level.

*What about pink-silver strategies, did you use this tactics after IMF / WB resistance again?*

The pink-silver group in Prague 2000 was mostly made out of people from UK like Earth First for example. We just protected and guided them as local people. After this event

some street-parties and Reclaim The Streets events took place on which people experimented with this form of protest but because of too small numbers of people it appeared as not useful in our realities.



*Indymedia Prague was one of the important tools developed in mobilisation and counter media about the protests five years ago. How did it continue after? What kind of perspective do you see?*

I am not sure if it exists now at all. After the big summit problems with the website arose. Nobody had time to upgrade and care for it.

*Where do you see a perspective for a resistance from below against these kinds of*

*institutions? What are your interests in international networks?*

I am not sure if these strategies can be used again. Also is not clear how useful it is at all to make symbolic actions where social confrontation and class struggle in the society are missing. If the people are not developing this, organizing big events will not work. The climate in society is important to permit people. So in our situation it is important to concentrate on working people and the society.

*In Eastern Europe an increasing number of national states are seeking and get NATO membership. Czech Republic was entering NATO 1999. Also Czech Republic is EU member for a year. What kind of local changes took place in the last years related to this?*

Eight or nine huge shopping centres were built in Prague and a lot of foreign companies grow. But more changes happened related to 11 September than to NATO / EU. The climate in society changed, laws pass with less resistance, as they just say "we are in war".

\* \* \*

*"Short-time impact and long-time impact" "International and local aspects"  
"Authoritarian left and resources"*

**PRAGUE 2000, SHUT DOWN THE IMF/WORLD BANK S26-SUMMIT**

**PRAGUE 2002, ANTINATO PROTESTS**

### -Interview 2-

*In September 2000 and November 2002 two bigger summits of globale authoritarian structures took place in Prague. The first one was the first IMF / World Bank meeting in the Eastern Europe and the second, the first summit of NATO in that part of the world. What kinds of strategies were used for the resistance and is it possible to compare both of them?*

These two actions are incomparable. The anti-IMF/WB protest was in fact the first action on that scale that took place not only in Eastern Europe, but in the whole of Europe. From the beginning, nobody really thought it would be so big, but later when during actual preparations Seattle happened we all started to feel that something is gonna happen. The whole point is that also the authorities didn't actually know what to do; the whole situation was new. They of course used Seattle for creating images of violent protests, but in the same time were under the pressure of mainstream human rights groups (who later regretted they lost their word in this cause anyway) and partly also of general public,

who in that time were too sensible to see water canons and stuff like this on streets (it reminds of the attack on student demonstrations in 1989 too much). Basically authorities didn't have the base and power to simply close the borders (well, they partly did it, but their evidence wasn't as massive as it is now), and preventively arrest all organizers in custody or close convergence and info centers. During the



actual demos police didn't have practice in street battles, didn't have tactics, and didn't have enough equipment and arms. Thanks to that, the organizers were relatively free (well, there was certain amount of harassment, which we considered horrible back then, but

now we know it was rather funny when compared to events in Genova for example) to do their job, even under surveillance. In fact nobody had really known what would happen. The anti-NATO protest was a different case. Mainstream media and police as well eagerly waited for confrontation, even though organizers make it clear from the very first moment they wouldn't play their spectacle role (even though there were police provocateurs during anti-IMF/WB actions smashing things and igniting riots - it is a documented fact, the pressure for a clash between demonstrators and police was this time really clear in the first moment; they probably simply want to show they are fully prepared this time). All the actions and marches were carefully planned as strictly peaceful; the organizers really didn't want to fulfill the police wet dreams. Although under strong surveillance made clear to those under it (like "look, here we know about everything") organizers managed to achieve their goal.

*Who was involved in the organisation of both counter-events?*

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The anti-IMF/WB actions had really strong international dimensions. Many, many groups from around Europe participated in it, many international people helped with organizing in Prague; others at least coordinated their preparations with organizers in Prague. There were financial and material supports from abroad, very important were also big international meetings with representatives of all bigger groups coming to Prague where tactics and other important issues were solved on democratic (consensus) basis and then approved again back in every group. In that way a majority of people coming to Prague (or at least fairly big part) know what is going on and what is planned. A lot of things were solved in a week before the actions by the same method, when representatives of each group came in advance for it. The whole coordination and preparation was the job of INPEG (Initiative against economic globalization), which consisted of various Czech and international groups (anarchist, socialist, radical environmentalist).

On the contrary, anti-NATO actions were organized mainly by Czech groups associated in ANTI-NATO platform. This platform consisted only from anti-authoritarian leftwing groups (therefore, no socialists, which according to the rest of the groups only try to abuse the anti-IMF actions for their own goals) and mainly from Czechia. The reason for that was that the whole anti-summit thing was heavily discussed in the international movement as it became clear that it simply doesn't have any significance any more. So we wanted to do it on a small scale and more "local" this time, more about agitation and propaganda than about direct confrontation and action against the actual summit. I also have to mention that not such a small contingent of Eastern European anarchists marched against the summit in the streets of Prague in their own parade!

*What do you think are the effects of both anti-summits on the majority of the society, or at least on its more sensitive parts?*

It is really difficult to say anything about the general mood or impact on those actions on the public. With the anti-IMF/WB actions with riots and clashes with police, mainstream media really went crazy about it and so did a majority of people. Some people thought "well, they at least made those rich bastards

trouble," but the majority were angry about "destroyed" Prague. In my opinion and according to the reaction of people from general public on demos etc. afterwards, it really was the worst possible anti-propaganda for us possible. This is not to condemn street clashes or riots as I'm not sure it would be different in the case of peaceful actions; this is just to summarize history.

The anti-NATO was a different case. Organizers did a very good job months and months before with tireless propaganda and agitation. Finally about one or two thousand people showed up, which was an unexpectedly high number, as open threats from police and authorities were dissuading people from coming to demos which wouldn't take place so frequently. So the biggest impact of this action was probably the one of agitation before the actual demos, as during the summit Prague was a city of ghosts thanks to the police threats (like almost one third of people went outside of the city and the streets were literally empty).



*The IMF / WB meeting was the first melting point of international resistance in that size and quality in Prague and in the former East block at all. What were the results for the local anarchist and anti-authoritarian structures?*

We have to distinguish the short-time impact and long-time impact. Short-time impact of anti-IMF/WB actions was bad and destructive. We all generally feel down, with the general public turned against the movement by mainstream medias, with a strong feeling against our ideas. It was a public relation disaster and many of us felt "the battle for the hearts" (of people) was lost, even though the battle against IMF/WB was won. Shortly, internationally it was a big success (the meeting was shut down), locally it was a disaster. In some time - a year, year and a half the movement started to feel differently about it. The whole thing was most importantly a very big experience for us. A lot of new ideas were brought to us and new groups inspired by them, appeared (feminist groups, radical environmentalist groups), lots of international links were established and I think it was a big positive push for the movement in a long-term perspective.

When talking about anti-NATO actions, the case is different. People hadn't focused on it

that much so they didn't have big expectations. Numbers on the streets were finally relatively a success, anti-nato propaganda was partly successful too and the actual actions went great; no police provocations were answered (imagine a police car going against the head of the march, stopping a few metres from it and policemen from inside running away like crazy; but the reaction of black block was great - they surrounded the car in order to prevent police agent-provocateurs from the action and let the march peacefully go around it) and everything went as planned. So it was regarded rather as a success under the done circumstances from the beginning.

*If the turbo-capitalist elites would decide to meet again in Prague in the future, under whatever name WTO, G8 or NATO, what kind of reaction, what kind of resistance do you think would be appropriate to set up this time? What are the crucial lessons for Czech anti-authoritarian / anarchist movement of the past mobilizations?*

This is even more difficult to answer, but I guess that nothing big would happen in agreement with international discussion on "summit-hopping." I think we all would rather focus on our own agenda than on playing our role in their summit spectacle. There would certainly be some actions, but the center of them would be in the agitation and propaganda and even I'm sure some street actions would take place, they wouldn't be aimed to confront the event, but rather to show the (colorful) resistance. Shortly, it would rather take the form of anti-NATO action than an anti-IMF/WB one, but it is a matter of the whole spectrum of influences and circumstances and this is just my opinion in this point of time.

*Where do you see a perspective for a resistance from below against these kinds of institutions in general? What are your interests in international anti-authoritarian networks?*

I really feel it is very important to talk about the possibilities, limitations and impacts of these kinds of actions and search for new ways of protest. I mean, Seattle was a success because it was a surprise. Prague was a success (in terms of meeting the imposed goal shut down the meeting) because it was a surprise too. But now the police are very well prepared and confrontations, riots and



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blockades don't work any more. We should either find a new way of how to work against it, or to stop it totally. There was a whole international debate about problematic aspects of "summit-hopping" like the total predictability of these actions, lack of links to local communities, playing their game of violence and even emphasizing the importance of their summit instead of the importance of our day-to-day struggle. Therefore I really welcome ABB to continue in this debate in the content of Eastern Europe.

*Comparing the anti-summits mobilizations in the Western countries and in the Eastern Europe is there any interesting analogies or differences that should be mentioned and analyzed on both sides and together?*

I wasn't involved in those mobilizations in the Western countries that much, but I can think of three crucial points. First is the attitude towards the so-called authoritarian left; I don't mean the institutional one, but all those marxist-leninist, stalinist, maoist, trotskyist and whatever groups and sects. Anarchist movement in Czechia in general (well and this is one of the really few things this movement has in common I guess) don't cooperate with those groups in any way; they couldn't even come to anarchist demonstrations etc. with

their propaganda otherwise they are physically forced to leave and their materials are destroyed. The Anarchist movement agrees on the point that the goals of these groups are in direct opposition to ours and therefore they can't be accepted on our actions. Well, Czechoslovak Anarchist Federations and various anti-authoritarian groups and individuals tried it once as in the INPEG was also the Socialist Solidarity, trotskyist group, the Czech part of Socialist Worker Party (International Socialist respectively). Afterwards everyone was just disgusted with their behavior, the way they tried to abuse the whole INPEG to their own propaganda, and finally, the way they clearly sabotaged the plan of the blockade as their contingent simply didn't block their part, but rather showed itself in front of cameras. We didn't make the same mistake again and refuse to cooperate with them in any way on anti-NATO protests. I guess the whole thing is very much the result of historical experiences; it's just reality that we couldn't stand the stuff like red stars or Lenins any more after all those years of state communism.

The second point is the official left, or rather "left." In our local circumstances, Czech Social-democratic party is a rather right-wing one and the Communist party is rather Social-

democratic in a "traditional/western" sense. The whole political spectrum is more on the right. Therefore, there is no support from the mainstream left or political parties towards these kind of actions and all of them are busy condemning it at all. This is not to judge it (I personally think it's quite good!), but it is a big difference from western countries where even members of parliament march the streets in protest against G8/MMF/WB etc. And it is the same with all the NGOs who are really good in reproducing the worst kind of prejudice against those demonstrations.

The third point is obvious - resources/money. Activists in Eastern Europe are used to work with really limited resources and if it is said somewhere how little the anti-NATO or anti-IMF/WB actions cost, people never believe it. We are used to DIY methods and low-budget solutions and stuff like professional PA for speeches or even vans for transports are unknown here.

*Thank you very much. The topic "anti-summit-mobilizations vs. day-to-day-struggle" in context of Eastern Europe will be definitely continued in our magazine. In solidarity ... AbolishingBB.*

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*"People should do more to support activists in developing scenes"*

*"They think there's no resistance movement, so it's important to show that we're alive"*

*"Impressing the rest of the activist world that we exist,  
that we're not second-class activists"*

**WARSAW 2004 - ANTIEEF (EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM)**

**WARSAW 2005 - AGAINST COUNCIL of EUROPE summit**

### *-Interview 3-*

*What kinds of strategies were used for the resistance against the two summits of political-economical elites in Warsaw 2004-2005, and is it possible to compare both of them?*

I suppose we could say the strategies were fairly basic since there is no tradition of autonomous coordinated actions, swarming etc.. The main strategies were therefore to draw public attention to problems by making some events and a big protest.

In general I'd say that both events went OK, at least for us where organizing anything with our limited resources and people is really an

uphill battle to be commended. Still, at the risk of sounding too negative, and since you used the word "strategy" in your question, I would have to point out that having a clearer strategy and idea of what people would really like to accomplish would have greatly improved both events.

There were some limitations to the strategy of 2004's big demonstration. First, it was extremely costly and time-consuming to organize, due to habits of centralizing duties and maybe some not so clever decisions or practices/expenses. However there is no real consensus on this; like with many actions, there are always different opinions.

I would say that in my opinion two things could have been improved over 2004. First, anarchists made an unbeneficial alliance with communists and a Greens Party, which meant that they spent all their time and resources organizing the shit work while they spent more time organizing their blocks. (Even some guests to the communist events were writing to me trying to get me to help them with visas or finding accommodation. They just assumed anarchists would do all the tough practical work.) In the end, many magazines, for example Newsweek, wrote about the New Left and "some assorted anarchists" as organizers of the demo. Thus the anarchists

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didn't exactly achieve their propaganda potential. Second, the march was legalized and there was quite a mild resistance to anything. There were no real attempts at direct actions towards the delegates although obviously there were people who wanted to do them.

This year, the strategy was supposed to be different. Even the anarchists who are so convinced that they should do everything together with opportunist and authoritarian leftist groups admitted that there was a better way to do things and the idea was to create a series of interrelated small direct actions over one or two days. The troublemakers from the right bank of Warsaw were putting forward and supporting this idea and we were sure that 2005 would be more interesting in terms of actual RESISTANCE. But in the end some people decided rather to do another joint demo A-B with the usual commies. There were some direct actions though. It is a little complicated as to why the original idea didn't come through, and of course I can only make educated guesses, but I think the main factors are a combination of searching for centralization and mass over decentralization and radicalism/efficiency, a fear of illegal actions and just plain inertia.

For example, heretic proponents of the joy of subversion decided not really to bother with the typical point A-B protest which would end in people getting stupidly and needlessly surrounded and arrested. But it was really impossible to coordinate with anybody to do any actions. People either lack imagination or don't wanna do it. One of the actions we wanted to coordinate with others was when delegates were arriving, we wanted to go with different small groups of people to their hotels and protest against them. Maybe block them. Maybe block them in the morning. We proposed this idea but nobody really reacted. So we formed one group. That night there was a video showing and there was a large group of people drinking beer and watching videos from Genoa and moaning about how much better organized everything is everywhere else other than in Poland. We went to try to get people to come. Nobody moved. You know - some people had the pretext that they would have needed to discuss the plans for the action first (but they didn't come to any meetings), other people were drinking beer, other people thought it made no sense... so there was one group instead of 3-4 like we would have liked and it's a shame because the delegates arrived, we had an illegal parade down the street and we got their attention and annoyed them by standing with the bullhorn in front of their hotel rooms. In terms of effectiveness, I think we achieved something because those people knew what we were protesting about, as did many passers-by; we had all the time in the world to list our complaints. But already we understood

that we'd have to abandon the idea to block hotels because we could only count on 15 people to show up and we needed more people than that. Which is a shame because people in this city moan that "we should have blocked hotels".

The reason I write this big long story is that despite the bad experience we had with not being able to employ this swarming, decentralized strategies, some of us strongly believe that it is the way forward. You know, having legalized protests from A-B with a grab-bag of assorted people where you can't



really do anything and if you do, the police are already in place and ready to round you up is not only less effective, but simply less fun and empowering than the decentralized, radical way. Activists from many countries know it too. Maybe there is room for mass rallies still but I'd like to see people start adopting a different strategy. What are we about? Making media spectacles or making action and resistance? It seems like until now, people are just fixated on being a large crowd so they can get into the papers, but hey, the papers just write that they're hooligans fighting with the police anyway, so why bother?

Our comrades in Russia want to organize for the G8 - and boy will they have a challenge! So I'd like to say to them, and I know they know what can happen with a mass protest, that if they really wanna go for the mass protest, OK, but concentrate first and foremost on little actions which you can actually get away with and being unpredictable and uncatchable. I saw that some people in Russia already know, think about and try to use some decentralized tactics, so I think there is a good chance for them to be used then.

*Comparing to the anti-summit mobilisations in*

*Czechia (2000 and 2002) it seem like the polish movement did not decide on larger international mobilization. What were the reasons for these decisions?*

That's not exactly true. The movement did want to make 2004 a large international mobilization and some people came from abroad. But not in comparison with some other places.

This wasn't a decision from the Polish people but a practice from the non-Polish people. I mean, it's a complicated web of factors why people go on one place but not another but the simple fact is that since there aren't a lot of well-known groups here (for Western people), maybe people didn't feel like there would be enough entertainment or infrastructure for them. And it's true; it's not like there was going to be 5 demos and lots of concerts and talks etc. etc., although really there were 3 days of conference, street theatres, concerts, etc.. Sometimes it happens. We went to a very nice camp in Luxembourg (anti-EU protests - ABB) with many interesting activities, but there weren't a lot of people there. Maybe people were thinking - so who and what's there in Luxembourg and why should I go? People tend not to go to places with developing movements - they want to go to the place where the supermarket of activism is already overflowing with products. There are very few people who want to go anywhere with a smaller size movement and feel it's important to support people. Another factor is the radical tourism factor.

Although Prague has a similar size anarchist movement to Warsaw, more people want to see Prague. And finally, one evil thing the small army of Americans who were there made an enormous difference, not because they were necessarily better organized (although maybe to an extent they may have been) but because their presence gave legitimacy to the locals in the West. Nowadays when our Czech or Slovak neighbours make actions and call for some participation, few or even no people from Poland go. It's just about some funny activist psychology, but people hear "this action's gonna be good" or "lots of people are going there" and they wanna go. But sometimes this noise doesn't reflect reality. Why some actions get noise around them and others don't is difficult to understand but I'm sure a lot of it has to do with the reputation and preconceived notions of the people in the place. I mean, if I were to announce two identical actions today, one in Berlin and one in Lublin, most people would want to go to Berlin: people keep asking us where the hell Lublin is.

*What were the results of these mobilisations for the local anarchist and anti-authoritarian structures in Warsaw and in Poland?*

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Different. In general, it was extremely important for everybody here to have this experience. First, to show what can be done, and second for people to learn about large-scale organizing. You know, local people have only started trying to make larger scale actions and, most importantly, international ones, in the last few years. I've been all over and have participated personally in lots of such things, and maybe some people from places with bigger movements take these things for granted but there are people here who have never been to such a big action and certainly have never had to try to be part of organizing one. There are people who have never had any real contact with activists from other countries and maybe have met a lot of new people for the first time at such events. I feel very strongly that people should do more to support activists in developing scenes, even if the logistics, entertainment program and facilities are not as advanced as in other places. Also, the powers that be want to keep making Summits and other important meetings in this town because they think there's no resistance movement, so it's important to show that we're alive. But we were very calm and we didn't scare them at all. The Summit Makers were very happy that we were so polite. I shouldn't speak for other people, but (speaking for other people) some felt that it gave some people new energy. Other people feel that 2004 disappointed people. It wasn't big enough, it wasn't radical enough, or it didn't give the results expected. (It's a shame because, even if some people are critical of some things that went on, it would have been great if there was a more universal joy that the whole thing even managed to take place.) Since the mobilization in 2005 was like one fourth of 2004, I'd have to question that first interpretation on a larger scale, although I know that it DID energize some people I know. And there were some articles in the press, TV appearances, etc., which certainly pleased the people who place high value on such things. In Warsaw the relations between some people got worse because of differences in approaches and, although that's on the one hand a shame, maybe there are two distinct anarchist centers now and maybe both are stronger because they can go their own way without conflict. From my personal point of view, we gained and lost on the whole thing but gained more than we lost: we lost a few comrades through the conflict over the communists (which is just fine with the communists - Workers' Democracy went from 3-4 people to drawing 30-40 and up to 100 people at their events, so they were the big winners after the Summits). But we also found new people. We met a lot of just normal people, some of which joined up some way with us and even one guy who helped prepare this year's summit. Well, I guess to be fair, on the individual scale, everybody can say they found a few new people through the process. The biggest thing we gained though is the knowledge that we can organize such things.

It's only too bad that lots of people compare what we did to unrealistic benchmarks and then feel disappointed we didn't reach them.

*What do you think are the effects of both anti-summits on the majority of the society, or at least on its more sensitive parts?*

Little to none. Although I have to say that we met a lot of people who seemed sympathetic during this time. Sometimes it was a farce though. I mean, a lot of our comrades were entirely vague about their politics and a lot of people didn't know what the whole protest was about. For example, we had someone offer to help us when we were in a difficult situation and then we found out he was an anti-semitic and rejected his help. Also we met a number of people who thought we were in favour of national protectionism. But we tried to get our opinions out through the alternative forum and

right time and place and they take no responsibility for what hooligans did afterwards. And there wasn't even any riot or anything - just a couple of tiny altercations with police. It's borderline behaviour - next time they might even turn against us. Even one of the Green Party people acted more decently and at least showed up in the court, despite being a reformist candidate for Parliament. But as I said, some people make no sense; they complained about the cooperation in 2004 but wanted to do it again anyway. And this despite the fact that these left groups tried (unsuccessfully) to organize a Social Forum in Warsaw this year and didn't bother to invite the anarchists they did the Summit with.

Also, I think that there has to be more reflection on these lessons in general, but learning to reflect more is also something that has to be learned.

*Where do you see a perspective for a resistance from below against these kinds of institutions in general? What are your interests in international anti-authoritarian networks?*

Well, international (or rather anti-national) networks are a great hope for me, although unfortunately more local folks should learn a foreign language to take better advantage of them. One positive thing about the 2005 summit in Poland was that some people, for example some Chechen refugees, who aren't normally in these types of network found common ground to take part. I think there's a lot of untapped potential everywhere - it's just a matter of how we can mobilize it.

*Comparing the anti-summits mobilisation in the Western countries and in the Eastern Europe is there any interesting analogies or differences should be mentioned and be analysed on the both sides, or together?*

Obviously financial considerations, as well as existing infrastructure are painfully obvious differences. We did, for example, 3 days of an alternative forum, printed posters, free papers, bulletins, helped some people with travel costs, etc. for really almost no money. (I forget now exactly how much, but maybe \$1700 euro. The demo cost twice as much. But the total costs didn't exceed maybe 5000 euro.) In places like Russia, they'd have done it with half that money. Now if you've never been involved with finances of some big events, you'd have no idea what people actually spend to do things.

I know this isn't an example of a grassroots project, but since I have these figures literally next to me now, did you know that the last Social Forum in Porto Alegre cost 38,856,090 dollars? (And if you knew where the money came from!) The London ESF got at least 1.1 million pounds just from the City and the Genoa one also took hundreds of thousands of dollars in tax payers' money. I don't have



conference and interviews, publications, etc. and, well we hope that at least a few more people know what we are trying to accomplish. If more people understand us in 2006 than in 2003, I'd consider it a small success.

*What are the crucial lessons for Polish anti-authoritarian / anarchist movement of the past mobilisations?*

I mentioned this in point one, about the cooperation with leftist political parties and groups like Workers' Democracy. I don't think they want to learn them because we're like preachers sometimes and maybe some people even wanna do stupid things just because it's the opposite of what we think. In this year's anti-summit mass demo, Workers' Democracy distanced itself from the anarchists, pointing out, not only in the press but on places like Indymedia that they closed the demo at the

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exact figures from most actions, but I know one anti-IMF mobilisation in the states cost \$140,000. And that one wasn't funded by the state or big corporations. You know, some people see these big things, these big forums and don't think even about where the money comes from. And we paid this money through our own modest fundraising and help from just a handful of groups; there weren't benefits in many, many countries like for the G8. So the possibilities for people, even if they are not funded by some corporations tend to be higher. Of course, we appreciate that sometimes anarchists in the West don't have money and make things on a modest scale - for example, the camp in Luxembourg we were at was on a similar infrastructure level to Poland, except there were many more cars. But in general, once you start talking about big summit actions where more types of groups, included well-funded ones come into play, the difference in terms of financial possibilities is striking.

I don't want to speak for Eastern Europe as a whole, but in Poland, one difference is that people don't expect as many independently-operating affinity groups with their own projects, meetings and barrios; although it's something I would like to see change. If you come to Poland, you can expect to see either one organizing group, or at best, people "in charge" of their own specialized areas of

competence and fewer networks coming and organizing their own events or groups organizing the life of an event themselves. Further, and I know at least one person who would insist that it's a typical "Eastern" idea of hospitality, local hosts maybe feel more on display and more eager to prove themselves as capable and generous hosts, so they maybe go overboard on catering to guests to the point that they reduce themselves to kitchen staff. I mean, at the International Meeting in 2003, some people thought I was barbaric to suggest that locals let visitors rotate and organize the kitchen in turn and some people spent so much time in the kitchen that they never went to a meeting. And the visitors would have preferred to meet more local people and take a turn in the kitchen, but the locals were absolutely horrified with the thought at some guest might not get fed. It even took some absurd turns. And it's quite sad really because it showed a difference in expectations, but even more betrayed the fact that the people here were so fuckin' insecure about what people thought of them and tried so hard to make an impression that they could do something just as well as anybody else (in this case, organize some infrastructure) but in the end they wound up giving the impression that they weren't capable of integrating with people.

It may seem like a digression from the

question, but sometimes these mobilizations are key moments for local people when they are trying to not only do the mobilization, but impress the rest of the activist world that they exist, that even though you don't know us, that we have a movement too and that we're not second-class activists. So maybe people take little victories or failures much more to heart than in places where things happen all the time and the reputation of the local movement is already set. I suppose that for people from many parts of the world, this is not an issue for them.

We all know here that we're dealing with an uphill battle. Look at how many people went to anti-G8 in Scotland. Do you think that as many people will try to get to St. Petersburg next year? And those people have almost no money, bad infrastructure - but they WANT to make resistance, probably even more than the people in Scotland.

I can think of a million small differences in practice, but overall, I think the most important thing to consider is that we're in challenging situations.

*Thank you a lot for interview. We hope your words will reach both, some local activists and especially the activists in the western countries, and provoke some necessary reflections.*

## PROTESTS AGAINST WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM CONFERENCE IN KYIV 16-17 OF JUNE 2005

At the second day of the World Economic Forum (that took place in the Ukrainian capital from 16th till 17th of June) protest actions of radical anti-authoritarian initiative "WORLD IS NOT FOR SALE" were organized. Its activists run a piquet in front of "Ukrainian House" where WEF took place. Bright anti-WTO posters, fire show, drumming and dancing were accompanied by the "Food not Bombs" action. Free distribution of food was supposed to show the ways of non profit cooperation between people out of limits imposed by capitalistic globalization. What

journalists and photographers liked the most was an action of three activists from "Left Initiative". They took down their trousers and showed their asses on which "WTO" were written.

At the same time there are some freaks in our country who try to support the so called European and world wide "orientation" of Ukraine, which means the opening of local markets to the invasion of foreign capitals. (...) Not far from our action several activists of organization "Pora" stayed with one big poster "East and West in Ukraine invest". Having supported in such a way the summit the main aim of which was to deprive and oppress "Pora" showed their real face - to serve for new political masters looking for some career benefit and to fix a capitalistic "demoeracy" in our country. (...) During the action there was no incident with authorities from the part of protesters.

Apart from that, one day before "World is not for sale" organized a demonstration of movies about catastrophic influences of economic globalization. As members of the initiative declared they fight the expansionist policy of structures like WTO, IMF which

lead the Ukrainian society to the whole pauperization and mankind - to the established new world order. "World is not for sale" initiative was created specially to run protests against WEF, it includes activists from Kyiv hardcore scene, anarchists, anti-fascists, trotskyists and other left movements.



Unquenchable thirst for power



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*"Discovery of a meaningful way of street protest, that may work out in 2006  
in case of a total ban, is a task that remains to be done"*

### G8 SUMMIT 2006 IN SAINT PETERSBURG MEMORIES FROM THE INFORMAL MEETING AND SOME MORE THOUGHTS

On the 28th of June we had an informal discussion in St. Petersburg Russia, about different perspectives in order to organise protests against the G8 summit in the city in July 2006. We were in the park, and soon a cool wind began blowing from the Bay of Finland... and anyway people began leaving for other business. So nothing concrete came out of this meeting, but perhaps there was not even any point this time - I felt like being there first of all just to check out the mood in this spot, and also to get more familiar with people that are likely to be heavily involved in the organising during the upcoming year.

People were present from local groups and projects such as *Russian squatters' portal* [www.squatting.ru](http://www.squatting.ru), *St. Petersburg SchNews* (<http://www.schnews.org.ru/>), *Food not Bombs* and *St. Petersburg Anarchist League*, there were also people from "No G8" group (<http://nog8.org.ru/>), yet based in Moscow, (but perhaps soon all around) and Moscow group of *Autonomous Action*.

There are 3 different approaches to work against the summit, which do not exclude each other - publishing, indoor events (lectures, movie screenings and discussions) and street actions. The third one is obviously the weakest spot; the two first ones are less likely to be interfered with by authorities or political opponents. The No G8 - group already publishes materials about G8 on their website. It was expected that *KED (Committee for Unified Actions)*, umbrella organisation of local opposition will organise some kind of conference as well, and no matter about serious political disagreements, an anti-authoritarian presence in their events would be

important.

It is hard to foresee the attitude of authorities in regard to street actions, but local people expect that the most likely scenario is a total ban of any actions in the city. Russia faces no such pressure to show respect to human rights as Turkey during NATO summit of 2004, when Turkey originally adopted a soft approach to protests (although police ended up shooting with live ammunition anyway). The alternative scenario is one or two tightly guarded demonstrations far from the heads of G8 countries.

As for other political groups, *KPRF (Communist Party of the Russian Federation)*, the only organisation undoubtedly able to bring thousands is likely to keep a low profile, at least in the case of a total ban of protests. *KED* unites *RPK (Regional Party of Communists)*, number of trade unions, marxist Alternatives-movement, *fascist National-Bolshevik Party*, some small *Komsomol* organisations and *DSPA (Pyotr Alekseyev Solidarity Movement)*, a group that claims to follow maximalist tradition). *KED* was one of the main coordinators of actions against the monetarization of free social benefits in St. Petersburg at the beginning of this year, when more than 8000 people participated in radical protests, but when social unrest is calm they are usually not able to bring more than a few hundred people. In case of a total ban of street actions, it is likely that *KED* will refrain from street actions but it is no doubt that at least national bolsheviks will attempt to do something.

Anti-authoritarians willing to organise street actions will face huge challenges, seldom have odds been as uneven as they will be in Russia. In St. Petersburg, anarchists have been able to bring at most 150 people to their legal actions. During the G8, there will be thousands of police, professional army and conscripts in St. Petersburg. The G8 could take place in Peterhof, the former tsar's summer residence far from the city outskirts, but it is likely that

Putin will take leaders to the center as well to show some cultural heritage. During the "60 years from victory" festivities in Moscow this year, there was a conscript standing every 30 meters in every major street, it seemed a lot like a military occupation, and it will be the same in St. Petersburg next year. During the 300 year anniversary celebrations of St. Petersburg, even carrying fliers in your backpack was enough reason to get arrested, not to talk about distributing them. Organisers of counter-protests should be prepared to expect arrests of a few dozen people in the days before the start of the events, on the basis of most dubious reasons. Visa application procedures gives a good chance of filtrating suspicious foreigners, and turning people back from borders would not be difficult either. Registration requirement gives a convenient (although legally dubious) grounds of arresting or even deporting foreigners during events (probably it has to be recommended, that foreign people arrive to the city less than 3 days in prior to the major action in order not to break registration requirements).

And the biggest problem is not repression, but the lack of an activist infrastructure. If 1000 foreign people made it to St. Petersburg, the result would be a logistical disaster since there would be no way to accommodate them. In practice, there must be some kind of camping in the city outskirts, but these are very vulnerable to authorities, and camping with hundreds of people already demands huge logistics. If an appeal of support was made to western activists from the beginning, it would be possible to gain substantial support in the form of finances and work - but if it seemed obvious that any anti-authoritarian activities in the city were organised solely due to financial support from the west, these activities would seem to be very suspicious from the side of the local people.

Some people in the *No G8* group have the mood of not inviting people to St. Petersburg in the first place, but there are also benefits in organising right there where the leaders are. Global attention would be focused to St. Petersburg anyway, mainstream media would have no interest in 10 000 people marching in Berlin or Paris. Groups such as *NBP* will be on the streets anyway, so we may not leave fascists a monopoly of protests. And most importantly, this is a chance to organise the biggest anti-authoritarian event in Russia during the last 80 years, bringing even 500 people from around Russia and Europe together in any kind of event would get the movement to a completely new level. For



## SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS



## SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS

people active globally it does make sense to ask what is the point of getting a few hundred people together, when at best it has been 100 or even 1000 times more, just because bosses are in the same city. But the local movement would benefit a lot from that. And as always in Russia, everything is totally unpredictable - there is always a small possibility that authorities will make some new unpopular reforms, and the whole city will blow up in a rage in a scale never seen in any Western summit protest.

Discovery of a meaningful way of street protest, that may work out in 2006 in case of a total ban, is a task that remains to be done. Any meeting or march convergence point of which was announced prior would be halted before the start. Problems with a Seattle-style dispersed action would be the lack of people. Tactics that have been used in Russia with illegal demonstrations that guarantee mobility, probably would not work out with more than 200 people, especially if some people do not understand Russian. Txt mob was proposed, but the problem is that many Russian mobile

operators deliver sms messages with a delay of 30 minutes or even 5 hours. GSM blackout is often employed by Russian authorities to protect leaders against bombs launched from a distance, and it is possible that some areas of the city will have a total GSM blackout during the summit. Also, txt mob requires a central hub, which is vulnerable as we learned in Gothenburg (where organisers of the communications centre were arrested in the first day, and later given lengthy prison sentences). Discussions did not even reach the question of alliance politics, and maybe that is good. To me personally it became clear, that people involved in discussion had totally incompatible views, from advocates of total autonomy such as me, to those ready to cooperate with non-stalinist left and those ready to cooperate with anybody, who has some reason to be against the G8. I proposed taking 5 hallmarks of PGA as grounds of common work, but some people disliked the idea of binding the organisation to some existing structure in any form. I disagreed, but did not push my point forward, since in any

case it seemed that any common platform would have created violence to the views of some people involved. Right now I totally dislike the idea of drafting formal conditions of cooperation, probably that would end up with everybody hating each other already half a year before the summit. I think we should find other means to reach a maximal amount of coordination with a minimal amount of enforcing one's views onto others. So perhaps there will not be any structure such as Dissent that will be able to put shit together. I will not compromise at all from my views, so I guess I should not demand that from others.

There is already an e-mail list for coordinating actions, but only in the Russian language. Personally I think that the only way to get over language problems would be automatically translated feeds, and until a suitable technical solution is found, setting up a list in English does not make a lot of sense.

*A.P. Autonomous Action of Moscow*

## STATEMENT ON LONDON BOMBING BY SOME ETHICAL ANARCHISTS FROM EASTERN EUROPE

7 JULY 2005-07-25

It is a hideous act to kill innocent people in such a manner as has happened in London this morning. We strongly condemn such acts against random people, regardless of the crimes committed by their government.

Tony Blair has stated that the attacks were meant to coincide with the opening of the G8. Anarchists have different views on direct action and violence, some being pacifists, but every anarchist would agree that if you have a battle to wage, you wage it directly with those in power. This is why they are around Gleneagles and are aiming at world leaders. We disagree entirely with theories of collateral damage and the idea that the way to get to those in power is through killing their subjects. Not only is it outrageously counterproductive, but it is a crime against humanity. Such types of acts tend not to touch people in power, but poor and average working people - those who ride in public transport, not in

armoured vehicles protected by bodyguards. Everything we do in our struggle against the state and economic order is in the firm belief that we all can make life better for the average person - not destroy it.

We are therefore convinced that



these acts in London have nothing to do with anti-G8 protests in Scotland. We do believe that they may well be a protest against the policies of some G8 countries, in particular Great Britain. The state of Great Britain in its support for war has been an equal participant in

atrocities against human life. We do not believe in this type of revenge - an innocent life for an innocent life. Rather we believe in an overthrow of the war machine and demilitarization of the state and the creation of a new world without wars and nation-states or super-states.

We are saddened that such an act has happened and send our sympathies to those victimized by this act but we are equally concerned that this will mark yet another step towards war as frightened civilians tend to turn against each other rather than blame those whose policies are the root cause of the problem. Rather than random arrests, torture, police state security measures and harassment of political activists, we urge people to demand social justice. Only an end to unjust war, economic imperialism, militarism, and police tactics will strike the death blow to terrorism.

*Ethical Anarchists*

# CHERNOBYL REVISION IN BELARUS

On the 11 of March 2005 the governmental information agency BELTA announced that the World Bank approves the way that Belarus has chosen to "reform" health, education and social welfare systems. Nothing strange if we get to know that all these destructive "reforms" are led accordingly with the WB recommendations for "better effectiveness" of social policies. It seems that cooperation between the World Bank and the Belarusian government becomes an important argument and an alibi for the Lukashenko regime in order to dismantle the few social rights that still exist in the country. In 2005 we can see that "cooperation" intensify considerably. Chernobyl disaster is maybe the best example and illustration of this kind of "cooperation".

*"In the Country Assistance Strategy and other dialogue with the Bank, the Government has indicated that support for Post Chernobyl Recovery is among its highest priorities and it was on this basis that the current CAS included this project even in the low-case lending scenario. The Government has welcomed two recent World Bank studies: The Belarus Chernobyl Review and the Review*

*of Environment and Natural Resource Management, and has acted on several of the recommendations of these studies."*, states the WB website. For 2005-2006, on the Belarusian government insisting demand, the World Bank restated *"preparation work on the Post Chernobyl Recovery Project, based on the findings of the Bank's Chernobyl Review Study. The Government indicated that it wished to focus the proposed project on government investments in the project area in the areas of agriculture, forestry, energy, water supply, sanitation, and other infrastructure. These sectors are part of an existing large, multi-faceted government program for the districts that have been most affected by the Chernobyl accident. The government currently lacks the financing to fully fund these activities"*. This common project can lead to a \$45 million WB loan.

And as we can see, money will be mostly borrowed for "economic recovery" of the region. But in this way a "problem" still exists - social rights (compensations and indemnities, health care) of the population living there. In order to remove this barrier ("stigma" in the WB language) a revision of the impact of the disaster of radioactivity is needed. For example, the WB doesn't hide that the project *"activities include the need for advice to the Government on how to harmonize its national radiation safety standards with the international ones because current inconsistencies, especially among Belarus' neighbors, limit and complicate international trade, and furthermore because some national standards need updating to reflect current international knowledge and consistent logic about exposure risk from various radiation sources"*.

The project is really revolutionary. First, WB + government propose to revise all existing Chernobyl social legislation. According to the new concept, the status of "Chernobyl victims"

would not be given to everybody who live on the contaminated territories, but only to those who can "prove" the link between their health problems and Chernobyl disaster ("real impact"). As it is easy to understand, to prove this "real impact" would be almost impossible, for the scientific consensus doesn't exist. This situation would automatically lead to exclude most of the population from any compensation. The second step of the reform would be considering most of the contaminated territories as "safe" or "pure". And, by the way, the Belarusian government officially plans to ban the terms as "disaster", "victims", "contaminated zone" from official Chernobyl vocabulary. As proposes the government's website, we

must stop *"to psychologically stress the population by using inappropriate terms in existing Chernobyl legislation, which leads to strengthen the 'victim syndrome' (translated from Russian).*

This "linguistic" initiative is obviously inspired by a WB idea which considers the Chernobyl health problems mainly as a result of stress and a bad way of lifestyle of the population. Such a "theory" is overtly put on paper in the Bank's

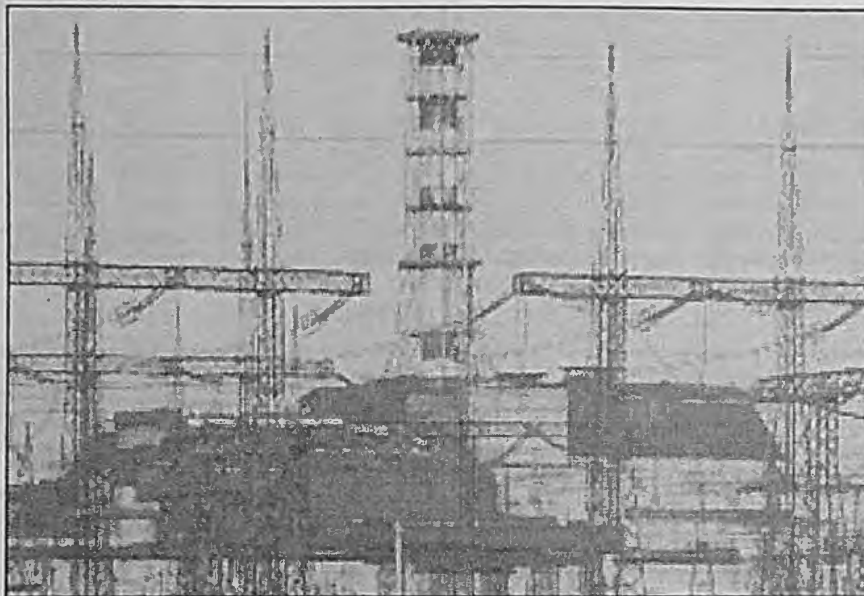
Chernobyl Review (Report ?23883-BY", 8.04.2002) and serves to justify the dismantlement of the social rights.

No disaster, no zone, means no compensations, no rights. In place, there would be created and "experimented" (WB, Report, 66) a kind of "free economic zone" on the territory of the contaminated areas. Mostly in sectors as forestry as agriculture. As the Bank's report proposes, and then this neo-liberal "reserve" could be spread on all over the country.

After all, the intensification of the described "international cooperation" can be linked to another Belarusian project - construction of a Belarusian nuclear plant. This project needs first to close the Chernobyl problem, and then to find international partnership which would be a kind of support. The WB project could become a bridge between the Belarusian regime and big nuclear corporations. One and the most important of them, AREVA came into Minsk in the beginning of Spring. Is there any link between this brief visit and the WB's Chernobyl program? Maybe there is no direct connection. But see the educational projects ETHOS (1996-2001) and CORE (since 2002), largely advertised in WB documents, which are supported by European Union and... nuclear power corporation AREVA. Coincidence?

## Attention!!!

For the campaign against planned nuclear power station in Belarus, we need contacts with activists, who have information about AREVA corporations, and who interested in taking part in company against anti-social and "atomic" reform WB, WMF and AREVA in Belarus.





## UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

## BELARUS

ANTIFA  
ON THE TERRACES

The internationally unknown football club from FC "MTZ-RIPO" from Minsk which moved recently from third league to high league, apparently reached to the UEFA cup as well. The information is interesting so far that MTZ-RIPO has 100% antifascist fan base with some anarchist influence as well. So wherever they are going to have their matches you are welcome to support them in the terraces!

ANTI-G8 SOLIDARITY  
ACTION IN MINSK

On Friday, 8 July, an action in solidarity with anti-G8 protests in Scotland took place in Minsk. Unfortunately, a carnival procession with drums and "Scotchmen" in skirts that had been planned long before was cancelled because of the hideous acts of terror in London on 7 July (which were nevertheless grossly exaggerated by the Western media as a world-scale event sanctioning the necessity of the war on terrorism - while hundreds and thousands of people are killed every day in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan and other countries of the global South, and nobody cares...). The action was restricted to the distribution of leaflets revealing the dictatorship of the G8 near the British Embassy, and the presentation of the apply to the British Ambassador expressing an indignation about the cruelty that the police used against peaceful citizens during the anti-G8 protests and sending sympathies to those victimised by the acts of terror.

IMC BELARUS  
STARTED ... UNDER  
BELARUSIAN CONDITION

From winter time 2004/2005 project "IMC Belarus" has started after long time waiting for legalisation. Because we have not official domain name, people from Belarus have not access into Belarus Indymedia site ([www.imc-by.hardcore.lt](http://www.imc-by.hardcore.lt)) from public internet points (post-offices, schools, institutions). Its because site's

addresses with word "hardcore" are is forbidden for connection...

FREE SOFTWARE FOR  
FREE PEOPLE!

80 Linux/Open Source specialists from Belarus, Russia, Poland and Ukraine took part in the conference 'Linux Vacation/Eastern Europe' (LVEE) near Grodno town. What does this name stand for? Obviously it was a vacation for associates who are involved in Free Software and Linux particularly. However, simple passive rest is not for the Free Software community, that's why seminars, workshops, reports and lectures were conducted during four conference days (30.06-03.07). Conference goal was to provide open exchange of ideas and experience between Free Software developers and users, IT workers, system administrators, specialists and generally anyone who is interested in Free Software technologies; give them ability to establish personal contacts. Participants discussed Open Source problems and perspectives, law aspects of Open software licenses, problems of convention of informational infrastructures with open software. Linux is used on some big-scale enterprises (for ex. on the Brest housing and communal services, communications chains) of Belarus not only like server system but like constant configure of operation system. For Belarus like for country with low budget for educational state institutions Linux-cluster and remote boot help use old computers on laboratories. Discussion about possibility patenting programmed codes or parts of software in Belarus was mostly interesting because impossible to determine the price for intellectual work, because free changing of codes gives possibility to develop and improve software for short time without bureaucratic protraction, because enactment of this patent bill result to monopolization software development by first-rate corporation. In addition was open-air support party from Belarusian punk-rock-

hardcore bands.

## CRITICAL MASS IN MINSK

Critical mass happens every last Friday on Minsk. It is not so big action (about 30-50) cyclists from Minsk and outskirts. Minsk - a typical soviet city with wide avenues and streets with wide footways, but... without bicycle infrastructure: bicycle lanes and culture. Massists - only first subtle voice for perception bike & cyclist rights, townsfolk's right of defence public town space.



## POLAND

SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES  
IN WARSAW

Some activities in Warsaw took place in recent time. Member of FA-Praga were leafleting the city with critical information about the EU constitution. On June 25 a solidarity protest was held at the Italian Embassy in Warsaw. People demanded the release of Italian anarchists arrested and a stop of harassment by the authorities.

In Warsaw as well as in Gdansk a picket was held in solidarity with Yorckstr.59 project in Berlin in which residents were facing eviction at this time (project was evicted in the beginning of June, but are fighting back and squatted a new location).

## SOME MORE "SOLIDARITY"

Poland is to get 100 million dollars to modernize its army from the US government. Most of this money is from the so-called "Solidarity Fund" which is money earmarked for people who helped in the war in Iraq

## "SOLIDARITY"

TRADE-UNION  
HEADING BASTILLE

About 1000 protesters from TPSA (Polish Telecom), Orbis (tourist agency), Wyborowa (famous vodka), and Energetyka (power supply) took part in the demo of "Solidarity" trade union in Warsaw. These companies

were bought by French capitalists and suffer from layoffs. The demo was organized on the 14th of July for a purpose, and a symbolic Bastille was burned in front of the French embassy (not on the film unfortunately).

## UKRAINE

## NAZI PUT INTO PRISON

In the Ukraine for the first time someone was convicted for article "Rouse of international scandals". A young man attacked a dark-skinned student with a knife in the city of Lwow. The court was set to the capital city of Kyiv. The nazi was convicted for 9 years and this sentence can't be amnesied. The mother of the convicted died of a heart attack after the judgment. The convicted person has dark-complexioned skin himself. In Lwow there are many nazi-boneheads with jewish, gypsy and other non slavic "roots", that propagandize the white-power ideology...

FOLK (NATIONALIST)  
FESTIVAL

In Sheshory village (Ivano-Frankivsk region) there was a 3-day folk festival, in which groups from the Ukraine, Moldova, Poland Czechia, Russia, France and Bulgaria took part. There were many representatives of various nationalistic organizations, which propagandize their ideology using t-shirts and flags/banners. Nazi-boneheads were as well the security of the festival. There were not any conflicts on the festival, but not too many people paid attention to a big number of nationalists. However organizers of the event did not have the special aim of invoking nationalists to the festival, in the Ukraine it is normal and "positive" if somebody is a nationalist. Authorities, even if the nationalists did not necessarily follow them so much during the elections, support various nationalistic organizations and their political activities (demonstrations for example). At first the fascist or racist attitudes are being seen as negative.

# INSURRECTION IN UZBEKISTAN

In a country like Uzbekistan, where police apparatus is so massive and impoverishment so extreme, thousands are stuck in prisons for political reasons. Generally very little public protest is permitted and peoples rage is boiling under the surface. However, unlike in other places more pacified by democracy, where any form of discontent gets easily channelled into "reasonable dialogue"; such a country is an ever tense powder-keg, where at any moment any side (state, some group, military, peasant population, etc.) is able to start the conflict. If not because of hope (state: to keep control, or poor: to get a better life) then because of hopelessness. The massacre committed by the Uzbek state in May in Andijan was commented all over the world's massmedia with horror - especially western democracies condemned sharply the "barbarian cruelty" of police&military murders. However every state is pacifying its population, just in other places they have worked out more "civilized" ways to do it and in too many other places the population "forgot" how to rise...

For background infos on Uzbekistan you can check some older issues of ABB. The article below concentrates just on the last months turbulent events. And the future is unwritten...

## PERIOD OF TENSION

Uzbekistan wasn't ever a "calm" place and events that culminated bloodily in May 2005 didn't happen fully unexpected - since March 2004, when islamist attacks mostly directed against police, left some 50 dead, there was a visible will of confrontation from the side of the state, but as well from part of the population. Yes - part of the population, because it is not only a bunch of actual or could-be islamists, which were getting more angry with Uzbek rulers - it was also diverse parts of society, which felt an increasing need to express their rage on Karimovs clique. However usympathetic could be most of the regular Uzbeks towards islamist fundamentalists (majority of Uzbeks are very "soft-core" muslims) the majority clearly blames government policies, extreme poverty and police violence as the main factors creating "extremists". It wasn't coincidental that a wave of suicide bombings and shootings aimed at cops started on 18 March 2004 just within hours after the death of a 65year old market seller who was beaten to death by police at Chorsu central market in Tashkent in front of hundreds of people. How could they forget what they had seen?

New trade restrictions caused massive unrest also in November 2004, when thousands of people went on the streets in Fergana valley. This region saw already some protests the year before, when petro-chemical workers went on strike in August 2003 demanding their unpaid wages. This time, problems started after tax inspectors raided the main market of Kokand (post-industrial city, where after the collapse of the soviet union, factories had been closed and working as a street seller was the only chance of survival for thousands) and confiscated goods which had been sold without the license required, since recently by state, always eager to rip people off even more. A crowd of some 300 traders beat up 3 tax collectors and the cop accompanying them. Then confiscated goods were taken back, a freshly arrived supply of cops were attacked with a rain of stones and a few police cars torched. The mob grew to some 10 000, so the mayor of the city

promised the re-opening of the market to cool down the situation. Minor disturbances around markets followed also in other towns of Fergana valley. In the following weeks police avoided mass confrontation - they moved to threats, intimidations and "quiet" arrests of individual traders.

The weeks before the parliamentary elections set up on the 26 December, were marked by massive abuses of opposition politicians by states organs - some had their local meetings denied "because of renovation" and some were simply beaten up by "unknown individuals" or arrested "on drug suspicion". Most people were forced to vote, otherwise their welfare-payments would be cut. Of



course, Presidents Islam Karimovs Liberal Democratic Party won along with other government created parties, none of the oppositionists got a seat in the 120-seat parliament.

At the beginning of January 2005 the government decided to demolish some villages near the border of Kazakhstan, in order to strengthen border security through widening no-mans land. Over 1000 houses were destroyed with bulldozers and villagers were told that they would not receive any recompensation. Some 50 of them came for protest to Tashkent and shockingly for the government they chose orange as their colour, clearly in solidarity with mass protests in Ukraine. Seared of widening discontent, officials promised recompensations to several people.

The early months of 2005 saw also

protests of farmers in the Jizzakh region against land seizures - agriculture generally still follows soviet rules: it means that private farmers still don't own land on which they work, but just lease it from the state and have to sell products at a fixed price only to the states company. Additionally the government decided to liquidate some farms and protesting farmers were persecuted in the typical way (threats, arrests, beatings). In late March, human right activist Shoimanov, who spent recent times helping to organize farmers protests, was brutally attacked, but managed to escape. Rumours spread fast around the villages and in Bunyodkor a crowd of 500 gathered and attacked the local police station - cops seeing the approaching mob fled, their cars were set on fire.

March riots and mass unrest in neighbouring Kyrgyzstan had been observed in Uzbekistan very carefully. Even if inspired by events in the next-door country, most regular Uzbeks had been sceptical about their own possibilities, expecting that authorities would act faster and punish everyone.

On May 3 a small crowd of 70, largely mothers with children which came from the south-western province to protest in front of the US Embassy in Tashkent against land seizures, and planning to ask for an asylum in case of a negative response by the government, were attacked by police. Some 50 men, mostly in civilian clothes and armed with sticks, jumped out of vans and assaulted protestors late in the evening. Many got their arms or legs split open and immediately after were sent back to their region.

## BLOODY MAY IN ANDIJAN

Thousands of people were imprisoned over the last years in Uzbekistan and sentenced heavily on alleged charges of "religious extremism, subversion and abuse of position". Yes, surely there exists a number of underground islamist militias, like the "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" or local branches of internationally active "Hizb-ut-Tahrir", however the vast majority of people behind prison walls are clearly framed-up individuals, inconvenient for the regime, being



human-right activists, local social activists or even successful businessmen, which being involved in (very much appreciated and popular) charity-work, somehow are underlining, that the Karimov-ruled state is a violent burden rather than any help for its citizens. This was the case of 23 accused of "islamic radicalism" in the eastern city of Andijan, near the Kyrgyz border.

Their trial started already in February and at its peak on May 11-12, many thousands of supporters gathered around the court awaiting the sentence. The trial had the usual scenario - defendants told in court about months of psychic and physical torture and denied the accusations, no specific proof was presented by the persecutor and they got sentenced to 3-7 years. "They have not committed any crimes, but they might commit them" the chief persecutor stated. Right after the court hearing, secret police started to arrest people gathered outside and confiscated some of the cars belonging to relatives of the accused ones.

Patience was at an end - on the night of May 12/13 a group of people, mostly relatives and friends of tried ones, attacked the offices of traffic police, where they hoped to find their arrested friends. Then they moved to the local military base, seizing weapons, then they stormed the prison freeing all inside - some 200 people. A crowd of people went back to the centre of the city and broke into a governmental building, which they took over. There was also an attempt at getting into the local office of National Security Service, ANB (former KGB-uzbek section), where detainees from the previous day had been held, but cops revolted this attack. In the course of the night there was up to 50 dead, mostly rebels shot by security forces which circled the centre of town. Protestors took hold of some 30 hostages - policemen & secret agents.

On May 13th the tension grew. About 20 000 people were gathered around the central square - they had a busy day, barricades made from furniture dragged from a seized building had been set up, youth organized themselves in groups and moved around patrolling the neighbourhood, masses and masses of molotov cocktails were made, some others were cooking meals. Some men were armed with Kalashnikovs or pistols, yet generally there was an atmosphere of quiet protest-speeches, discussions and assemblies had been going on, and many locals joined in in support but also just out of curiosity - many brought children along. State forces were assembling at the airport, Specnaz troops were brought from the capital city of Tashkent, yet the whole city center was in the hands of rebels.

At 5.20 pm a column of armoured cars appeared at full speed around the fringe of the assembly. Five minutes later the next column moved and without any warning opened machine-gunfire on the crowd, not even slowing down the vehicles. Some reported

later, that they had seen before the attack loads of vodka given to military men. Many people got killed in these first moments, but even more a bit later, when panic broke out, people ran in all directions - directly into traps: all side-streets had been blocked with armoured cars. APC is a russian-made vehicle fitted with a huge 14.5mm heavy machine gun, which provides stabilised and uninterrupted fire. In fact many corpses were ripped into pieces, which couldn't be done by Kalashnikovs - the standard equipment of police and infantry. Some people took refuge hiding in doorways, under benches... Helicopters were spying from the sky. Some 30 dead were carried into a building, where a small core of militants were getting ready to defend themselves with what they had. "We've nothing to lose-better to die than live the way we do" said one of them. Some buildings around, like the main theater and cinema were



set on fire. Around the center, injured ones were executed by Karimov's soldiers. Body parts, brains, bowels, personal belongings - all were scattered around. Many corpses, especially those of children and women were taken away by authorities, probably buried in mass graves, many shifted away even to neighbouring provinces. Estimated by human rights activists, the numbers killed in this massacre was around 700, but a local police officer anonymously gave an account to "independent" (not loyal to current government) journalists, speaking about 4500 people killed on this day.

Around 7.30pm there was barely any live or uninjured protestors around. In his first statement, president Karimov said that only about 9 dead and 34 were wounded, from those which wanted "to repeat the kyrgyz scenario". His usual comments about "islamic extremists", so perfectly fitting into what Moscow as well as Washington would like to hear, also didn't have much to do with reality - many witnesses didn't hear any religious statements from the protestors at all. Economical, but mostly human right issues, seemed to be the topic of discussions and speeches which took place in the state-liberated central zone of Andijan.

At night, in the early hours of May 14, a few thousand people fled Andijan moving in heavy rain towards the Kyrgyz border - they were in different smaller groups and many got

ambushed by uzbek border guards. These people were unarmed, many carried white flags and many children. Several people got killed and many injured from gunshots. The Kyrgyz government closed the border already the day before, yet many uzbek refugees got helped by kyrgyz villagers - as well there are many family connections along this border strip. Also the kyrgyz border guards treated fleeing ones kindly, many received immediate treatment in hospitals in the whole region.

Those which didn't flee were subject to mass abuse by cops in the days following the massacre: in Andijan hundreds of people suspected of participating in the rebellion were arrested and tortured. Detained women and men were raped by policemen.

The major border crossing town, Karasuu was on May 14 in the hands of its own residents - a raging crowd took the mayor hostage, beat up policemen and burned their cars. Many official buildings were trashed or torched, police helmets and ammunition was laying around. No single cop or official was on the streets. There was seemingly no organised force behind these acts of dissent - locals had just been concerned about showing solidarity with Andijan protestors and all they wanted was to re-establish their towns trade links with the neighbouring kyrgyz counterpart. This connection existed since centuries, so some took hold of welding equipment and a crane and began to rebuild the bridge over the border river, knocked down 2 years

ago by authorities. In general most were unprepared for the possible assault of state organs. "Who are they going to storm?" some said, believing that the lack of organization or actual street protest-people just got rid of police and officials, then went on with their activities - would give cops no clear target.

In general the uzbek community living in Kyrgyzstan, even if still very much carefully, started to hope that Uzbekistan would follow the example of the kyrgyz "tulip revolution", which just some weeks before changed drastically the situation in Kyrgyzstan.

Most refugees hoped to get asylum in Kyrgyzstan, or simply be able to stay there. "The uzbek police will simply beat us to death. We would prefer to die in the land of our brotherly kyrgyz than from the hands of our own bastards" said one of the women at the camp near Jalalabad.

In another neighbouring country, Kazakhstan, where also many Uzbeks live, the reaction was at a rather small level. While some, as one uzbek men says would "To overthrow a regime hated by people, we provincial uzbek residents will support anyone-islamists, secular opposition or even punk rockers", kazakh authorities kept quiet and only a few of the opposition parties and human rights groups commented sharply on the massacre.



## MILITARY OCCUPATION

Rebellion in Karasuu lasted 6 days. At 4am on the 19th May, authorities moved massively into the city. At first they arrested several local personalities. Beaten during arrest, tortured in custody they were taken to Andijan, then probably to Tashkent. Official charges were usual: "religious extremists", "ties with the IMU Islamic Movement Of Uzbekistan and with Taliban", but obviously popular figures - like local charitable businessmen Rahimov- were simply punished as alleged ringleaders of the rebellion. Even weeks after, outside of every cafe or shop there are policemen and soldiers- both kinds armed with automatic weapons, hordes of NSS(National Security Service)civil cops swarming around. Small groups of the special "Kolpon"(Panther)division are constantly patrolling the market place. People are very scared, because it is clear that the state prepares its dogs for some bigger mobilization. As one local said "These soldiers hate us because they are constantly told ,that we all in Fergana valley are extremists and terrorists". Only the bridge, rebuilt by the people themselves, even if heavily guarded is still open...

A month after the massacre the city of Andijan is still patrolled by soldiers. Central streets are blocked by military vehicles. Weeks after events masses of people attended funerals, searching for relatives, trying to figure out new, unmarked graves. Human rights activists were assaulted, some beaten up by authorities, even when just collecting names of the dead. The State started cleaning

according to its own principles: first blood is carefully washed away and holes from bullets in buildings covered with fresh plaster. Till today officials claim "169 dead, only bandits" shot here on May 13, known to locals as "Bloody Friday". All those which dared to publicly claim something else are arrested, intimidated or killed- like one guy executed on the 28 May after trying to find out about mass graves. In that same time people got payed long delayed wages, pensions and social benefits: the state really seems to think that it can make them forget what happened? People, all the people on the streets are filled with fear, yet fear mixed with hatred of the authorities...

Meanwhile the political situation in neighbouring Kyrgyzstan after the "tulip revolution", which got rid of autocratic leaders turns into the usual "young democracy". One example of behaviour of such a "civilized state form" is the friendly re-establishing good contacts with rulers of neighbouring regimes. It hit hard on Uzbek refugees, which sought in Kyrgyzstan shelter after 13 May massacre: already a few dozen of them got taken from camp in Suzak and supposedly "taken for investigation, because there are criminal cases opened against them in Uzbekistan". It is not clear if they were extradited. Also, NSS agents are massively intimidating relatives of refugees, then sending them with special buses through the border to Suzak to "convince the families to come back". What awaits them home is obvious. On whatever level, it seems that in collaborating internationally the best are always the cops...

## EXCHANGE OF ALLIES

Through the last years Uzbekistan was a favourite pet of the USA and as the only one in the whole region, a very important one. Right after planes knocked down the Twin Towers in New York on 11 September 2001, and US-government decided to hit Afghanistan, it was Uzbeki rulers which were one of the first ones that offered to use its territory for US-military flights. Also Karimov's obsessive persecution of real or imaginary "islamist terrorists" won big sympathy by the USA.

However, unfortunately for both, the massacre in Andijan brought too much uneasy

spotlight on Uzbekistan's "internal matters" and State's Secretary of USA, Condoleezza Rice was forced to publicly notice, that "The governments of some OSCE states, most notably Belarus and Uzbekistan, are failing to live up to their commitments on human rights, democracy and the rule of law". Karimov took it as an insult and slowly it seems, that such a perfect "strategic partnership" is going to fade away: the first restriction on US military flights was issued, so planes, radars, etc. are already being removed to other US-bases in Afghanistan or Kyrgyzstan.

Many local politicians and all government-run media warmly support this stand. Their critic of the USA is typical: on the one hand they claim that "West means prostitution, corruption and impunity", but also imply that "events in Andijan were organised by the US and Britain with help of NATO", which "are using islamic militants to destabilise the region". Recently so welcomed, now even US-supplied tractors-"Obsolete american technology"- are accused for poor harvest results this year. US-movies on TV are being replaced by Arab or South Korean soap operas and most of NGO's or "independent" journalists are now pointed out -actually mostly rightly so - as "US puppets".

Of course, however there is somebody who shows great understanding for Karimov's great efforts: good old Russia. During his visit in Moscow at the end of June, he was just praised by Putin for restoring stability. There were no annoying humanistic comments made about some massacres, so real friendship can grow freely and Khanabad airbase abandoned by the US will not to have stay unused...



## OBSOLETE TECHNOLOGY SAVED BUSH

During his visit to Georgia in May, the US-President was cheered by thousands. Yet not everybody was so happy to see him and a hand grenade was placed near the stage where he appeared. Bush was speaking on 10 May in Tbilisi, standing next to Georgia's President Michail Saakashvili behind a bullet-proof shield. FBI investigation lead to the conclusion, that only a technical defect prevented the grenade from exploding, in which case it could surely have deadly effects.

Over a month later, local TV station Rustavi 2 informed that a russian soldier was arrested in connection with this failed attentat, yet russian army officials vehemently denied such a fact. Georgian authorities ensured that soon they will reveal identity of arrested suspect.

Well, we just would like to mention that the more US capital invests in the region, the better the tools used by all kinds of "soldiers" will become...





# 25 YEARS AFTER SOLIDARNOSC (SOLIDARITY): THE HEROIC STRUGGLE QUESTIONED

This summer marks the 25th anniversary of the August 1980 events in Poland. As can be expected, heads of states will flock to Gdansk to celebrate the event to which many attribute the beginning of the end of communist tyranny. As this important anniversary approaches, we ask ourselves what lessons can be learned from the Solidarity experience.

At the time of the events, I, like many people, viewed the struggle as a great event of ordinary workers trying to bring down a regime which had exploited them and greatly limited their freedom to assemble, to organize themselves, to free speech, and so on. It is this viewpoint which much of the world would like to preserve as the legacy of Solidarity. Some are in need of heroes, ordinary people doing extraordinary things. Others are in need of anti-communists to justify their capitalism and seemingly from below movements to cover direction and assistance from above. Solidarity did include a heroic element of ordinary workers trying to take action, and, although this may have been its heart, it turned out not to be its brains.

One of the most important questions about Solidarity is one which nobody may ever be able to really answer: how much was Solidarity from the start led from above and outside? Did leaders take over a grassroots movement, did they gradually transform themselves into such or where they leading the whole thing into a certain direction from the start? The reason we might never know is that history tended to focus on Solidarity from the leaders' point of view or from the most famous activists; even if we were to now interview dozens of rank and file members of Solidarity, it would be hard to get a true sense. The people we know who were in this category usually find it impossible to recount their Solidarity experiences without being influenced by the overall history of Solidarity or by outside accounts of what happened which even may become more real for them than what they saw themselves. And simply, the experience of the rank and file, their knowledge of what was happening at the top, was always limited.

Solidarity helped to topple the communists. Labour unions, it turns out, is one of the CIA's dream instruments of regime

change. The problem is that the workers dream of a better life - and they are sure that the answer is market capitalism - until, that is, that they have it. Even then, most people just don't put two and two together.

The CIA and the US Congress pumped millions into Solidarity - and that made all the difference. And a generation of Poles consider Ronald Reagan a hero for helping fight communism. For the leadership of Solidarity, it was all a fine plan. And why shouldn't it be? Lech Walesa became a multi-millionaire and President. Most Solidarity leaders benefitted one way or another. But what about the rank and file at the Lenin Shipyards? Within a few years, it was deemed unprofitable. In fact, it was; it was existing mostly on subsidies. They wanted to close the shipyards and put people out of work.

Thousands of people lost their jobs in such ways. What the workers didn't understand at the time was that if you give up the state protectionist economy (not that I support it) and exchange it for the capitalist "race to the bottom" one, that's what to expect. Workers at other shipyards more recently faced with unemployment couldn't seem to figure out that they were competing now with Chinese and Korean shipbuilders and that, according to the rule of the market, they'd just have to find some way to cut their labour costs. Their answer to their situation was useless; to protest the government and ask them to "do something".

And what is the government supposed to do? Years after the revolution of Solidarity, Solidarity unionists hold action after action where they basically ask the government to ensure protectionist measures and subsidies. Yet they never figure they are asking the government to revert back to the policies they relinquished thanks to the legacy of Solidarity.

So this is an unfortunate legacy of Solidarity, that they sowed total confusion amongst workers. And continue to do it.

In 1989, Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO and an international delegation came to Poland to speak of labour in the new economy. His proposal - for workers to take wage cuts as to be more competitive in the world economy. It's this mentality that still rules the economy here with negative consequences. The only solution offered to labor - to be as cheap and flexible as possible and hope that some capitalist scum will find nobody cheaper than you.

With Solidarity in clear moral control (and soon in political power) over the country, Jacek Kuron invited Jeffrey Sachs to draw up the plan. Overnight. (They met in the evening at Kuron's apartment. Incredibly, in one of the greatest acts of negligence imaginable, Kuron insisted that Sachs draw up the plan to transform the economy by the morning. So strong was the belief, so common in

intellectuals, in the powers of individual experts.) Jeffrey then visited Lech Walesa, explaining that heavy industry had "negative value added". Everybody knew what it meant, but they had already decided that they would transform. And if the Solidarity leaders thought it would be better in the long run, people trusted it - even when they lost their jobs.

But not for long. After one term in power, a backlash against the right-wing Solidarity took place which placed a left wing president in power. Solidarity, as a political force was so thoroughly defeated in the last elections that they gave up and are not running this time around. They can't. They have no support.

Where Solidarity does have power is in the labour world. And it's here where labour is organized hierarchically and, like with all such unions, is sometimes helped, sometimes misled. Besides the occasional accusations of stealing funds in Solidarity, there are some instances of betraying the interests of workers. Like trying to convince workers in Ozarow not to be radical by promising that somebody would find them new jobs; not only hasn't it happened for most people, but workers' activists suffered retributions afterwards. Or negotiating with bosses about who should be laid off. Or even organizing fake protest actions like that in Opel where everybody was at work but the Solidarity leaders just put up a banner or two in support of workers in Germany about to lose their jobs - after they and Swedish union activists had been ensured that if they behaved, then they would benefit from the job losses with new jobs going to their plants.

Amazingly, in a job market where fewer and fewer workers are unionized at all, even some radical activists who had always been critical of Solidarity have started to question whether in general it's better to have an imperfect union than no union at all. For, despite everything, Solidarity gives the impression that it is the only force capable of organizing labour.

And this is where the problem is because, despite Solidarity's seemingly noble goals of keeping people in work, ensuring rights and good working conditions, they have no idea about the revolutionary changes needed to really accomplish this. Solidarity offers the workers bread and circuses; frequent protest marches, useless demands that somebody "do something", when what the workers need to be doing is organizing themselves without trade union bureaucrats and developing a real analysis of what it is that needs to be done.

The historical legacy of Solidarity is not so simple. But in the end, it is a legacy of workers' enthusiasm being misled and betrayed by illusions and false promises.

L. Akai



On July 26, about 8000 miners descended upon Warsaw. They had come to the Sejm, the Polish parliament, to protest reforms in retirement rules which allow them to retire after 25 years of work. A number of unions organized for the protest, which was the largest the miners had had since 2003 when they brought riots to the city.

The miners, who have long been at the forefront of the labor movement, unfortunately have become victims of much interclass antagonism. The media has portrayed them as drunk, volatile elements that use violence to force unreasonable demands down people's throats. If some years ago workers from other sections of the economy (and other regions of the country) largely sympathized with the miners, nowadays, a disturbingly large segment of the population have begun to parrot the government line: that mines are unprofitable, that miners are overpaid, have unreasonable privileges and are, in essence, a burden on the economy. In other words, other workers have begun to feel like they are subsidizing the miners' free ride.

In fact, the case looks very much different. The coal market is booming. Some years ago, coal sold for 20 dollars a ton - now it sells for over 60. Demand, both local and for export, is high due to the increased construction and production in Poland and the huge Chinese market. And the coal companies, most of which have not been privatized, are reaping record profits. So much in fact that even their very optimistic profit forecasts were exceeded. Of course business people would argue that 40% of the labor force had to be downsized over the last 10 years to achieve this. And many more redundancies are expected in the future. And while it is true that the coal market is cyclical, forecasts predict good times for the coal industry for some years to come.

Back to the miners, there are theoretically other options to early retirement, like career changes after some years but unfortunately there are no other jobs on the market in their region - or at least no jobs they could fill without retraining. This would require a social commitment and a more vigorous rejection of age discrimination. However, tendencies in the job market are towards hiring younger, cheaper workers, even in skilled jobs and the government created employment programs which allow employers

JULY 26, 2



Several thousands miners from Silesia protested again ' parliament to vote on their citizen's law proposal about an earl the miners set up camp in front of the parliament. The parliam John Paul II to diffuse the atmosphere, but it worked only for a police barriers and started a fight with the police. 39 miners w



## 5 - WARSAW



to circumvent many social costs and pay lower wages to first-time job seekers. To the miners, it may seem that other alternative employment is a distant dream. In fact, we may suppose that if other employment were readily available, fewer people might even choose to be miners without special incentives.

But the question we should be asking is not why we should pay for early retirement or not, but why aren't the miners in charge of the profits of this industry? If the mines were run by collectives of miners, excess profits could be sent to a fund to cover early retirement expenses. Right now, much of the industry's wealth goes not towards wages but to the state, to paying back the state's debts, and, as is typical with state controlled companies, into a vortex of sorts. Individual theft of state resources and gross mismanagement continue to be a huge problem.

Not that they would be any better off if the industry were privatized. Then the miners would be working for company profits, for the bosses and shareholders. In coal (and in steel) even a relatively modest shareholder can earn enough money on the profits of this industry to allow himself an early retirement. It's exactly these shareholders, including, ironically, many people's pension funds, that force more and more rationalization schemes that hurt the miners economically in order to give more profit for the shareholders. Of course we rarely hear miners on TV complaining that the money sucked out of mining companies has meant that their labor is paying for the retirement nest eggs of tens of thousands of others.

This is part of the horror of investment capitalism; that the better or more secure financial future of workers with capital to spare and pension schemes is ensured by firing people, pushing costs down and maximizing corporate profits. It is a vicious circle that only can be broken by abolishing such investment, by taking the profit motive out of industry.

And in all this financial shuffling, whether by private capitalists or state ones, it's the miners whose production value is being controlled on their behalf but not in their interests.

It's time not to think about getting more value out of the miners by making them work longer, but about getting rid of the state and capitalist vampires that suck the life blood out of all of us ...

front of the parliament in Warsaw in order to make a pressure on the retirement system. The parliament didn't consider voting on it until parliamentarians decided to vote on a special law for a remembrance day for a couple of hours. After losing patience, the miners started breaking the arrested and many others hospitalized.

# CAMPAIGN FOR SEASONAL AND EMIGRANT WORKERS IN POLAND

Since June 2005 in Warsaw, Poznan, Lodz and a few other polish cities carried on information actions about the rights of seasonal and emigrant workers in countries of the European Union. Those actions are part of the Campaign for Seasonal and Emigrant workers that was initiated this year by polish anarchist and radical left groups.

Every year about 430 thousands of Poles are working legally in Western European countries. Another few thousands are working illegally - without permission for work. But, despite the different status, all seasonal and emigrant workers face the same problems - exploitation based on their situation that is worse than domestic workers. British trade union TUC (Trade Union Congress) has published the data from the research that was done about emigrant workers. The report confirms that immigrants in the UK are systematically forced to work overtime, paid below the minimum wage and used to the tasks that endanger health. The most shocking example was the case of two Poles, who tried to escape from hard all-day work for which they didn't obtain money. Bandits hired by the employee caught them and beat them up, stealing their passports. Such cases are also highlighted by "The Guardian", which often publishes reports on the cases

of slavery work done by immigrants - such as the situation in a factory in Scotland where workers from outside of the GB are forced to work 12 hours a day, 7 days a week and for a pay lower than the minimum wage. The bad-treatment of workers-emigrants is also confirmed by the trade unions from other countries - for example Spanish CGT has documented the case of mobbing and sexual exploitation of polish women during the harvests on the strawberry fields in Andalusia.

The main reason of that situation is the fact, that polish workers very often don't know the language and are unconscious of their labor rights. Moreover, almost always they do not have any trade union or organization that could help them and defend from unjust treatment and exploitation. This situation is obviously profitable to the employers that use

it to lower the wages and standards of work of all workers. The threat of "social dumping" from cheap labor force from Poland and from other Eastern European Countries is very useful when the management plans to reduce wages or prevent workers from joining the trade union.

Obviously the problem of globalizing the work is not only restricted to the polish people working in EU. Many people from other Eastern and Central European Countries are going to the EU looking for work. The second aspect of this phenomenon are migrant workers from former Soviet Union that work in Poland. Legally there are 20 thousand legal emigrant workers in Poland, but the government agencies estimate that the number

contacts for trade unions and organizations that could help them in case of exploitation and violation of their rights.

First such information was prepared by German FAU two years ago, after that Swedish SAC published similar material about Sweden this year. The idea was concretized at the Fourth All-Poland's Worker's Conference, at which there was organized a technical meeting - polish organizations have formally initiated the information campaign, and some new participants from EU countries have expressed a will to join the campaign (Spanish CGT and possibly French CNT-F). In Poland there are now 3 main groups involved in the Campaign: Trade Union Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers' Initiative), Czerwony

Kolektyw - Lewicowa Alternatywa (Red Collective - Left Alternative) and Grupa na rzecz Partii Robotniczej (Group for Workers' Party). *(From which obviously only the first two include some anarchist influence; the EVENTUAL level of cooperation between each of these groups is unknown to us - ABB)*

In effect, the first information actions connected to the Campaign were initiated in this year's summer in Poland - so far they have been restricted to the distribution of leaflets and brochures on the streets. On

the international level, there is now a growth of number of interested organizations and trade unions and new material about labor law in EU countries being published.

The organizers aim to develop the initiative and broaden it to the groups from countries to which many people are going to work (such as Italy or Holland), the second important task is to start similar activity on domestic ground - that will address workers from former USSR that are working in Poland and to encourage groups from other Central and Eastern Europe to join the action.

**Kuba Grzegorzczuk**  
(Co-organiser of the Campaign,  
Warsaw, Poland)



of illegal workers can be higher than 50 thousand. Just like in the case of polish workers in western countries, they are also paid below the minimum wage, work in extreme conditions and have problems with obtaining their pay on time.

The social movements interested in opposing neo-liberal globalisation, capitalism, exploitation and repression's must without any doubt face the problem of globalized work. This is the reason why different radical, anti-capitalist groups and trade unions from Poland and EU countries have started to think how the seasonal and emigrant workers from Eastern Europe could be organized and informed about their rights. The base idea was to provide information on the labor rights that emigrant workers have in particular EU countries and to give them the most basic

**Campaign For Seasonal Workers and Emigrants**

Website: <http://www.sezonowi.z.pl> or <http://www.ps.syndykalista.org>

Contact: [ps@syndykalista.org](mailto:ps@syndykalista.org)

Campaign is open to all the groups / organizations / trade unions and individuals that are interested in the subject.  
Feel free to contact us.



# ANNOUNCEMENTS AND APPEALS

## WELCOME TO THE FIRST RUSSIAN PORTAL, DEDICATED TO THE SQUATTER MOVEMENT!

A Squatter movement is emerging in Russia. Our project is there in order to further develop and advocate the idea of squatting. Our task is to make you familiar with history, main concepts and ideas of the movement. Articles, news photos, reports of underground squatters' scenes around the world, reviews of DIY releases - this and much more you may find in our portal.

There should not be white spots, empty and abandoned buildings in our cities. Less words, more action! The Squatter movement was created by people, who for different reasons had no roof over their heads.

Squatters occupy empty buildings in order to further live in them, and to provide housing for those in need. They repair occupied buildings, and clean up territories around them. Many squats in Europe are also cultural centres, they maintain clubs, cafés with free food, galleries, infoshops and much more.

[www.squatting.ru](http://www.squatting.ru) - no to white spots in our cities!

## INTERNATIONAL CALL TO NO BORDER ACTIONS 22 - 28 AUGUST 2005

From the 22nd until the 25th of August in Bulgaria and from the 25th until the 28th in Greece, No Border Actions are going to take place under these main slogans:

- ★ Solidarity with immigrants and refugees
- ★ Against borders and minefields
- ★ Against the refugee detention centers

We call all anti-authoritarian, anti-racist, anti-capitalist groups, organisations and individuals, to take part in the actions and the discussions that are going to take place on both sides of the Greek-Bulgarian border.

The exact location where the camp will be in Bulgaria is going to be announced later. The location of the camp in Greece will be in the university of the city of Xanthi (one of the major cities of Thrace). There is going to be space for accommodation and here will also be the place where the discussions and the other cultural events (like concerts etc) will take place. During these four days of the No Border actions in Greece (25 - 28) four main actions will take place:

- ★ An action on the Greek-Bulgarian border
- ★ Two demonstrations, one in the city of Xanthi and the other one in the city of Komotini

- ★ An action against the refugee detention center that is located in the area between the two cities mentioned above

The topics of the discussions that are already decided are the following:

- ★ Borders and globalisation
- ★ Greek inner borders and the Muslim minority of Thrace
- ★ The Greek immigration policy and the situation in Europe
- ★ A presentation from comrades from abroad about the immigrant detention centers which exist in their countries
- ★ Discussion against fascism and in particular against the European camping of neo-nazi groups that is going to take place in September 2005 in Greece

The agenda of the discussions is open and we ask all groups or individuals that are interested to make a presentation about a topic of their choice and to send us their proposals in order to put them in the final program of the discussions.

More details about the No Border actions can be found in the website: <http://www.noborder2005bg-gr.net>

Or by sending an e-mail here:

[info\\_bg@noborder2005bg-gr.net](mailto:info_bg@noborder2005bg-gr.net)  
(Bulgaria)

[info\\_gr@noborder2005bg-gr.net](mailto:info_gr@noborder2005bg-gr.net)  
(Greece)

## BENEFIT CD FOR FOOD NOT BOMBS IN ST. PETERSBURG

There is a new CD-R compilation available - it is a benefit for the new Food Not Bombs group in St. Petersburg (article about it in issue) and includes songs by 27 local punk-hardcore-whatever bands. You can order it from "EPICENTER" info-shop address:

[epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru](mailto:epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru)



## LAIKA

NEW GERMAN LEFTWING  
MAGAZINE WITH FOCUS ON  
EASTERN EUROPE

This new project just started in June 2005 with ambitions to be more or less a regular publication coming out each three months. The group of activists living in the east-German city of Leipzig decided to break the traditional ignorance and lack of understanding towards resistance in Eastern Europe. Through its new publication and soon through the website as well they wish to help by establishing more interest and understanding for the eastern-realities. The project is definitely familiar with AbolishingBB. Here is a piece of the editorial: "There are not only the language barriers that separate us from the people 'on

the other side' (activists from west and east are meant - ABB). In many cases we know more about the developments in South America as about those ones in front of our doors. (...) It comes very often to strange reactions about 'how disorganized the things over there are'. It on the one side gives thanks to our curious 'german precision' that allowed us as well to work more effectively in terms of leftwing politics, but on the other side because we are forgetting the fact that in Eastern Europe people are much more busy with managing their daily lives than we - who aren't getting any dole have less time for painting banners or reading Adorno".

Contact:

LAIKA - the first dog in the sky  
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D-04277 Leipzig  
[lydia@systemli.org](mailto:lydia@systemli.org)

# PIE MEETS BUREAUCRAT AT GAY PARADE

Last year, the president of Warsaw, Lech Kaczynski (no connection with Unabomber) was pied for trying to forbid the march of gays and lesbians in Warsaw. His argument was that such a parade will "offend the esthetic feelings of Varsovians". President Kaczynski got pied for that with a very nice homemade blueberry pie in a perfectly planned ambush.

This year, Kaczynski wanted again to do everything that's possible to stop gays and lesbians from marching in Warsaw. This time he argued that it's "not proper to have demonstrations in support of a specific sexual orientation" and that he can't guarantee the security of the demo, because he already took the trouble to legalize about a dozen fascist counter-pickets along the planned route. The vice-president of the city, Andrzej Urbanski, was on TV calling homosexuals "weeds" and saying that nobody will deprive them of their freedom of speech and of expression, if they just shut up and stay home.

So here comes the demo, a lot of varsovians came to support it, even they wouldn't normally join a gay and lesbian march, but they joined just because they were against

the ban. From the start, fascists were attacking the march with eggs and stones and yelling stupid slogans about "Eurosodomy" etc. They think that because of EU, more and more people are becoming gay. Morons! Some politicians sensed the opportunity to get votes from supporters of civil rights and came to have their photos taken. Fascists from Młodzież Wszechpolska (who were paid by one of the rightwing parties to travel to Warsaw for the march) kept slowing down the march by making sittings. The police was making a big show of how they protect the gay march by removing the sittings. This was

taking a lot of time.

Finally the march arrived in front of the Palace of Culture, where a final confrontation between fascists and gay activists took place. A little further away, the vice-president of Warsaw, Andrzej Urbanski, was standing looking at the march he and his boss tried to so hard to prevent. Urbanski was approached by an activist of FA-Praga and asked if he was going to stay there for 10 more minutes. The activists apologized that they didn't have a cake handy and asked him to wait until they get it. He just looked stupidly, while activists went to a candy department store to get a fresh cream cake. Nobody really expected he would still be standing where he was after the cakes were fetched, but there he was and he and the pie met in the same point in time and space.

Lots of other interesting things happened later, like swarms of cops jumping on activists, and later on sitting in the police van with some of the fascists caught for throwing bricks on the marchers.

By Zaczek  
Warsaw  
correspondent



## OVER 2000 PERSONS ON BANNED GAY PARADE IN WARSAW

I went to Warsaw in the spirit of solidarity with the banned Gay Parade and to confront the catholic fundamentalism practicing bombless terror against humanity in Poland. Although a strong campaign of Warsaw authorities' were against the Gay Parade, it finally took place on June 11. Between 2000-3000 people gathered and marched together, breaking in this way the decision of the President of Warsaw Lech Kaczynski. Different people did it for different reasons. The lesbian/gay communities and organizations had the Parade to give a final proof of their existence among polish society and to raise demands of tolerance and equality. In this sense many citizens of Warsaw joined them in this. But than there was as well a large amount of people who joined the parade to protest against the catholic fundamentalism, homophobic and heading towards "zero tolerance" politics of Warsaw president Lech Kaczynski and his allies. Of course dozens of anarchists and many feminists and other

libertarians appeared for both reasons (however anarchists did not bring their own flags and banners) as well as to provide spontaneous protection against possible attacks from the nationalistic militants. The organizers themselves did not organize their own security although the danger of aggression was unquestionable. The attempt to conduct the massive ILLEGAL march, against the decisions and threats of the authorities', was apparently an extra inspiration for all anti-authoritarians to support this event. The strong will of about 2 thousand people, tension from the side of international public opinion and some kind of frictions within polish political spheres - a combination of all these aspects made the banned parade take to the streets in the centre of Warsaw. This despite the massive presence of nationalistic and aggressive homophobes and the police.

The parade was set ... but not without incidents. Fascists from a few polish cities mobilized. Nationalistic and homophobic

militants from Warsaw got especially large support from the city of Krakow from where a full bus arrived. No wonder. It is exactly Krakow where the gay initiatives have faced militant attacks against their public events in the recent years - attacks partly tolerated (if not supported) by police and the authorities. As well this time a few hundred nationalistic-homophobes continuously tried to block and attack the parade and people. They have used various forms of stopping/disturbing the parade. Their sitting blockades were removed quickly by police forces however without using the brutal methods so common towards anarchist protests. Obviously "critical" mainstream media have showed much more peacefully protesting nationalists being removed by police as from the parade itself. The fact that the police were "cleaning" the road in front of the Parade was one of the most frustrating moments of this day. Even more frustrating was the wide applause of many of the "citizens" to that practice. It's just more



proof of the contradictions in general perception: dreaming of building up true equality backed by the forces (state police) being in fact the instrument of controlling all kinds of un-equalities in society! Well, I have to agree that on this day we would see blood on the streets of Warsaw if not for the state police. Yes, I have seen this danger too, but I would rather like at first - that these young guys in uniforms making each one their own conscious decision to protect and support the march for tolerance (hard to imagine as long as they are brainwashed to be the guard of patriarchal and hierarchical society) and second - to see so called "civil society" able to defend themselves from the extremist "products" of patriarcho-catholic dogmas bolt by authorities.

Well, as the police was "this time on the right side" the danger was limited to flying eggs and dropping stones onto the parade. Some persons were injured, among them at least one journalist - again no wonder, as they created in fact the fourth force (after demonstrators, homophobes and police forces) on that day. Unfortunately one woman was hospitalised with a serious head injury. Finally some better organized groups of homophobes managed a few times to assault the particular persons in and around the parade. In these cases the solidarity acts of self-defence were witnessed. It should be important to mention that the hardest attacks were organized by MW (*Młodzież Wszechpolska*), the fascist youth wing of *League of Polish Families*, more and more influential catholic fundamentalist party in Poland.

When the parade reached the main square in Warsaw a delicious dessert appeared to wait for brave people: some of the famous politicians showed up, including the Vice President of Warsaw, Urbanski, one of the very authors of the unsuccessful ban of the Parade, who publicly called homosexuals "weeds". Some anarchists took quickly the

decision to use the opportunity, and squashed a cream-cake against the homophobic face of Urbanski. Two anarchists, Jakub and Rafal from FA-Praga who conducted the action, were arrested and released the day after.

In the arrest they received even some congratulations from the policemen - another typical paradox of society: many cops are just young pitiful guys serving the people which they ordinarily hate. During the day dozens of fascists were arrested too, some of them put in the same cell with our comrades. Many fascists were released much earlier than Rafal and Jakub.

In the night dozens of fascists tried to attack the concert which they considered as a "gays and anarchists festival". Bad luck again: it was basically an antifascist punx and skins gig and the fascists got this time brutally beaten.

In the days after the Parade the furious discussion took place in the mainstream-media under the motto: "the police attacked polish right developed youth and supported the illegal march of a sick minority" ... Some members of progressive organizations were trying to give some counter-arguments but no other side nor TV-presenters wished to pay attention to what they were saying. "The POLISH FAMILY is in danger" - paranoia was



screened on various channels when I was leaving Warsaw.

Our correspondent from Warsaw reported the week later "the 'Parade of Normalcy' was set up organized in Warsaw by the League of Polish Families and their above mentioned fascist youth organization, MW. The organizers intended to show that most people are 'normal' and thought that tens of thousands of normal people would come to show their solidarity with militant homophobia. In reality, only 300 people, activists from LPF and MW, showed up; the public stayed away. Despite widespread homophobia, many people protested the idea of this parade because of the hate rhetoric of MW. So it turns out that actions such as those carried out last week in Warsaw when MW attacked the gay parade have no support in society."

By Veronika  
AbolishingBB

## GAY PARADE IN BUCHAREST

In the days before, Nazis went out to put posters and leaflets against the gay parade in Bucharest. The minister of justice finally allowed the march to take place. 400 took part - a similar number on the counter demonstration: about 50-60 nazis from Noua Dreapta (New Right), 150 from Miscarea Legionara (Iron Guard movement old nazis of Romania) and some other 200 'normal' right wing people gathered. Nazis supposedly got support from the hooligans of Steaua Bucharest football team. According to witnesses one masked guy threw a flamed torch at the heads of people in the parade. He was caught by 2 comrades, but they were suddenly surrounded by 20 nazis. Moments later the police arrived. During the day several Nazis got arrested. Our correspondent from Romania comments on the facts: "my personal opinion is that

if the parade could happen, and it was just the only serious incident, then it was success. Already, because it was for sure more people than in Serbia (Belgrade) some years ago and consequences were not as dramatic as the ones there. That it may be because of the "revival of far right in Romania" is just bullshit. Still, many millionaires with legionnaire sympathies support these groups, but because there is no movement of brain-dead bonthead hooligan idiots existing... and never was. They try to make it, but still are pathetic. One of the strongest groups in the country is the one in Timisoara with 10-15 nazis... mostly these groups are made of misfits from theology university..."

By Kleschta  
Romania - correspondent

## LATVIA: GAY PRIDE IN RIGA

On Saturday there was first gay pride event in Riga, Latvia. At first city authorities banned it, but afterwards "youth support group of gays and lesbians" appealed in court and ban was cancelled. So Saturday there was the parade. About 30-50 people, and thousands of protestors (including different politicians and other celebrities), trying to block the route and throwing things. Actually those who organized this gay pride event are Christians and part of the whole parade plan was going to church... 8 Nazis were arrested.

It seems that most people here in Latvia including most of political parties and prime minister are very fucking homophobic and xenophobic... and also getting more and more right wing.

# ANTI-FASCIST NEWS



*The following article about Anti-fascism is to be published in 25th number of x-USSR anarchist journal Avtonom. It is a contribution to the current Russian discussion about methods of anti-fascism, although does not necessarily reflect opinions of whole collective of the Avtonom journal (nor of AbolishingBB necessarily)*

**"Switching from parliamentary democracy to fascism and back is always just a pragmatism choice of the right moment"**

## ANTI-FASCISM IS TRENDY NOW

### ANTI-FASCIST POSITION FROM RUSSIA

Beating up fascist scum has become a rather popular entertainment among youth of different nationalities in Russian cities. Kremlin spin-doctors also read their Avtonom, and made a conclusion that anti-fascism has some perspective for them. So former president's youth organization "Idushie Vmeste" ("We walk together") was replaced with storm trooper organization "Nashi" ("Ours"), which defines fascism as it is traditionally defined in Russia - any "traitor", that is, anybody who is not in the interests of the current political power is a fascist. Right now, this means first of all liberals and Bolsheviks.

When duma deputies recently refused to ratify the border agreement with Estonia, they announced that the 1939 Molotov Ribbentrop treaty on the division of Europe between nazi Germany and bolshevik

Soviet Union was at that time justified. So liberal rhetorics about market economy and human rights which used to be in the interests of the power in the beginning of the nineties, is now just as much treason, as when tactical allies so cowardly stabbed "our" back 22nd of June 1941.

Liberal public made alot of noise around the foundation of Nashi, but hysterical liberals do not understand that Nashi will exist just as long as business is forced to channel them funding. In a year or two, they are replaced by some new bullshit, in order to distract attention from what is really going on in the country.

But we must admit, that until then Nashi does have some capacity to create atmosphere of fear and violence in the society, as was already proven by a couple of attacks against oppositional youth organizations. Representatives of Nashi announce that their organization will solve the problem of fascism "not by means of confrontation, but by means of re-education..." they plan to "give children a good time with sports", so that "they won't have time for pogroms anymore". Indeed, the national movement is now in such a crisis, that in 3 years they have not been able to organize a single major pogrom in Moscow without aid of sections of the political elite - as proven by paid pogroms after the football game Russia-Japan in June of 2002 (known hooligan groups were paid in prior pogrom, organized in order to have anti-terrorist legislation smoothly passed in duma), and in Tsisynyn marketplace in October of 2002 (where pogrom was organized by Liberal Democrat party of Zhirinovskiy just for some business interests). Right now these political prostitutes of nationalist circles are in a desperate need of finances and training camps, which may be provided to them by Nashi.

And it is not only

power which anti-fascism attracts these days. A couple of years ago, one of the founders of anti-fascist and anarchist "Skinhead revolution" website (<http://rash-russia.antifa.net/>) got a phone call from state energy monopoly RAO EES. "Hello, we propose that you become the youth section of SPS". That is the Union of Right-Wing Forces, ultra neo-liberal party unofficial leader of which is one of the architects of 90's shock therapy Anatoly Chubais, back then head of RAO EES and probably most hated man in Russia. "We may offer you very much money". The proposition was refused, for reasons this high-ranking functionary could not quite get: "You do not understand, we may propose to you VERY much money..."

And calls of cooperation often come from opportunists of much lesser ranks as well, such as human right NGO's, Trotskyites, youth organizations of various political parties... usually this is a sign, that they have got a chance to get some grant for "anti-fascist activity", and they need some hands to do the work for it. But usually this commitment to anti-fascism disappears just as suddenly as it appeared, especially if they are visited by 50 lads from the opposite camp, armed with iron bars.

But fascism is not a counter pole of parliamentary democracy, for which liberals are rallying for - it is two sides of the same coin. Totalitarianism and parliamentary democracy are merely two different ways to administer state in capitalism. From the point of view of the capital, both ways have their good and bad sides. Parliamentary democracy is indeed more able to regulate conflicts between interest groups in the society. But usually everyone ends up content only after having their piece of cake, which means increasing wages and public expenses, which requires further economic growth, which in turn requires more intensive exploitation of workers, nature resources, animals and "less developed" countries. But at times, this intensification reaches its limits, and economic crisis begins.

And in conditions of economic crisis, it is sometimes more effective to switch to fascism, since it provides the state with a wider variety of means to suppress protests. But since fascism is in a constant need of internal and





external enemies, in the long run it leads to endless war and is a very unstable system. This is why nowadays the majority of economical and political elites of the world are in favor of parliamentary democracy with some elements of fascism, such as "anti-terrorist" legislation, storing biometrical information of citizens, video surveillance everywhere, TV broadcasting completely concentrated in the hands of the state or huge corporations loyal to it. But there is not any doubt that these elites are always ready to switch from parliamentary democracy to fascism if necessary - and in the high-tech society of today it will be easier than ever.

Thus fascism will always be an element of capitalism, especially in times of economical crisis, and destruction of fascism is impossible without destruction of capitalism. It was those very liberals, who in front of "communist threat" gave power to Mussolini in 1922 and to Hitler in 1933, not breaking a single law. In Italy, liberals were even in a common government with Mussolini for a while.

In 3rd of May 1937 in Barcelona, republicans failed to crush workers - where

police managed to take over the center of the city, anarcho-syndicalists from CNT and internationalist Marxists from POUM still held working class districts of the city. But what the republican government could not win by means of war, it won by means of politics - under slogan of "anti-fascist unity", anarcho-syndicalists put down their arms, their leaders abolished anarchist principles and joined the government.

And just a few weeks after de-facto capitulation of anarchists to bourgeois democracy, a hunt after all enemies of Stalinism began. Security services were founded according to the model of Soviet NKVD, voluntary militias were merged to regular army, Stalinist Lister moved to crush communes in Aragon... Soviet arms of the republic were not worse than German arms of the falangists, it is impossible to explain the defeat of the republic in military terms only. In 1939, the process of foundation of a totalitarian state with Bolshevik efforts was finished, and workers just saw no any idea to wage war for a regime, which did not really differ from its enemy. Reason for the defeat of Bolshevik variant of "anti-fascism" in

Germany and Spain of the 30's is simple - it is too hard to see the difference between it and the fascism itself.

Thus, there are plenty of different kinds of anti-fascism. The only thing which anti-fascism may never be is "apolitical", because it is impossible to be against something, without being for something else. And who does not propose any real alternatives to fascism, in the end only rallies for the existing order, to whom switching from parliamentary democracy to fascism and back is always just a pragmatical choice of the right moment.

Our anti-fascism is every torn up fascist sticker, every swastika and Celtic cross painted over, every broken nazi face. It is antonym of any hierarchies, antonym of everything that Nazism and capitalism represent, antonym of any orders. It is love, in a struggle against hate. It is not the avant-garde of the toughest fighters, because bravery is not equal with conscience. It does not play by rules, because murderers of 6-year-old children don't play either. There is no any central command - only solidarity. Our anti-fascism does not need finances from liberals,

## AN ATTEMPT TO COMMEMORATE AN ANTI-SEMITIC POGROM IN POLAND

On July 16, fascists from the National-Radical Camp (ONR- skinhead nationalists) held a demonstration in the town of Myslenice and a training camp. The action was to commemorate an anti-semitic action in 1936 started by Adam Doboszynski and his followers, whose legacy the ONR would like to follow. It is believed that this action is a dress rehearsal for one next year on the 70th anniversary of the events. The nationalist seum are trying to get a plaque of Doboszynski erected on the square.

On the night of June 22-23 1936, Doboszynski and co. conducted the anti-semitic raid on Myslenice. Jewish shops were destroyed and their contents burned on the square. They tried to burn the synagogue (unsuccessfully). The police finally chased the scumbags to the Czech border and eventually caught some. They put Doboszynski on trial. Although he admitted everything, he was found innocent and let go. The decision was appealed but Doboszynski was found guilty only of stealing a gun from the police station. Doboszynski spent the war years abroad. He returned to Poland in 1946 where he planned on making some new actions. He was arrested by the secret police in 1947 and given the death penalty in 1949. In 1989, Doboszynski was rehabilitated by the Supreme Court of Poland.

The Jews in Myslenice were slaughtered by the nazis. 1300 people were transported to camps.

Now there is a plaque to the deported Jews and the fascist seum want to put a monument to Doboszynski. What is worse, we heard a few local people discussing it and they see no reason the plaque shouldn't be there.

Not all local people agree. A couple of local women asked people to come to Myslenice,

Unfortunately anarchists mostly didn't go, only a couple of us and a couple IMC people. But a fairly large crowd of different people - about 60-70 from feminist groups, democrats, Jewish students, Workers' Democracy and perhaps a few non-aligned people showed up and it turned out to be about twice as many people as the scumbags. So there was shouting of slogans back and forth - no violent confrontations. Interestingly, a lot of people from the counter demonstrators just went into their crowd which de-radicalized them. Mostly the demo was young skinheads although we saw that there were 3-4 older men with them. We noticed that all the guys had scars on their hands, showing that they either had been beating people or were having combat training. Probably the latter because you could see that they were totally afraid of having any confrontation with people. Also, they are trying now to look like good little patriots. They want to go to church today (Sunday) and they want to have a mass said for Doboszynski. (It is not clear whether the church agreed)

What was most terrible about this action were not even the shitheads, but the reaction of the local people to them and these events. It's perfectly clear that there are some morons who think that what happened in Myslenice was perfectly normal and even a good thing. One witness of the events in 1936 was interviewed by the IMC and he said that people were scared when they saw this raid starting but when they heard it was about Jews, not them, they calmed down. I suppose this reaction was not at all untypical. During our stay in the town we saw people who didn't really like the fascists presence but said nothing, people who joked about Jews, people who were indifferent and people who were

really happy to see the morons come. What we didn't see was a single person (except the women who called for people to come) react openly against this event, join the protest, yell anything...

When you read the papers, you see there are lots of people who openly are concerned about the fact that these people give a bad name to Polish people and that unfortunately people around the world think that Polish people are anti-semites. The problem is that anti-semitism IS very deeply institutionalized and disturbingly common. Maybe if people cared more about fighting anti-semitism in reality then their image problem would also change.

The problems of anti-semitism nowadays lie mostly in social passivity which belies that fact that anti-semitism is deeply accepted. For example, I know somebody who complained that there are antisemites in his school. He insists that most people don't like this but also admits that nobody ever challenges what they say - so when they start saying things about Jews in class, people just sit and listen. And the people like to rationalize their actions and have convinced themselves that doing nothing is not the same as being an anti-semiter themselves, but the result is pretty much the same in terms of lack of resistance.

Nowadays there are not enough Jews for them to be the main enemy, although modern anti-semites insist that all the media and even all the cinemas are run by Jews. Nowadays its the Chinese and Vietnamese who are the scapegoats. Probably there would be pogroms against them if it weren't for the fact that the police and border guards weren't already giving them hell.

Attacks on immigrants are common,

particularly on non-whites because they stand out and are easier targets for boneheads. Last month two Chechens were attacked in two separate incidents in Warsaw. One was seriously stabbed. We thought of doing some support action but a couple of people pointed out that they didn't want any attention because they were afraid of more attacks. There are not enough active and committed antiracists in the city to organize long-term protection of them at the refugee centers. They are afraid to go out.

After yesterday's action, I was extremely sad and angry that there isn't more public

resistance to skinheads coming and giving fascist salutes on the square. It's even worse that anarchist resistance was lackluster. But hopefully next year they won't even think of coming back.

### OTHER ACTIVITIES OF POLISH NATIONALISTS

In Wroclaw, fascoids from NOP and MW made an action against the concert of the Boston Gay Men's Choir. Activists from Wroclaw organized a counteraction, which

probably prevented violence from happening.

Fascists from MW (Młodzież Wszechpolska - the morons who attack the Warsaw Gay Parade few weeks before, etc.) apparently have summer school vacations so their season has begun. On the weekend, the organization KANABA (which wants to legalize pot), held a 5th anniversary picnic in city of Poznan and was attacked by a group of 30-40 assholes.

## NASHI STORM TROOPERS LINKS WITH ESTABLISHMENT RUSSIA

One of the recent trends in Russian politics is the formation of storm trooper organisation around political parties close to establishment - any "serious" party must have their muscle. Football hooligans are the biggest youth subculture, according to some estimates 30 000 in Moscow only. Disciplined and trained, they are the best recruiting ground for such storm trooper organisations.

Rodina (Motherland) had 50-100 Spartak hooligans in their mayday bloc of perhaps 200 strong in Moscow. The Orthodox Christian fundamentalist youth who stormed the anti-clerical exhibition in Sakharov centre is connected with the Motherland party.

However, leading storm-trooper organisation is the pro-Kremlin NASHI ("Ours" or "us"), which dates back to last February when leader of the vice-director of president's administration Vladislav Surkov met with V. Yakemenko, back then leader of pro-Kremlin youth organization Iduschi Vmeste ("We walk together"), and some other young politicians. The meeting made a decision to found a counter-force against the

threatening "orange revolution" in Russia. Founding conference of Nashi took place in the holiday center "Senezh" in Moscow region. This far, the biggest action organised by Nashi was a demonstration to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Second World War 15th of May, to which perhaps 10 000 people were transported with buses from around Russia (the claim of organisers that the number of participators was 60 000 is vastly inflated). According to Novaya Gazeta, some 600 000 dollars were spent for organisation of this meeting.

Key organisers of Nashi's unofficial storm-trooper wing are Aleksey Mitryuhin from CSKA firm Gallant Steeds, and Vasily "Vasya Killer" Stepanov and Roman "Roma Kolyuchiy" (Spiked Roma) Verbitskiy from SPARTAK firm Gladiators. These are famous leaders of well-established firms. The alliance of Vasya Killer with Kremlin seems to be connected with a history in the year 2004, when a major fight between Spartak and Dynamo hooligans near the McDonald's of metro Prospekt Mira got recorded by surveillance cameras. A number of people were seriously injured during this fight, among them a close friend of Vasya Killer, known by the name Lastik (Rubber) in hooligan circles, who got paralysed. Although the Dynamo fan who hit Lastik with a baseball bat is known, no charges are pressed against him.

Vasya Killer spent some time underground, but now has become a public face again. Vasya has been spotted in several events connected with Nashi, such as in meetings of the organisation with Surkov and in attacks against headquarters of the National-Bolshevik Party - after one of the pogroms Vasya even gave an

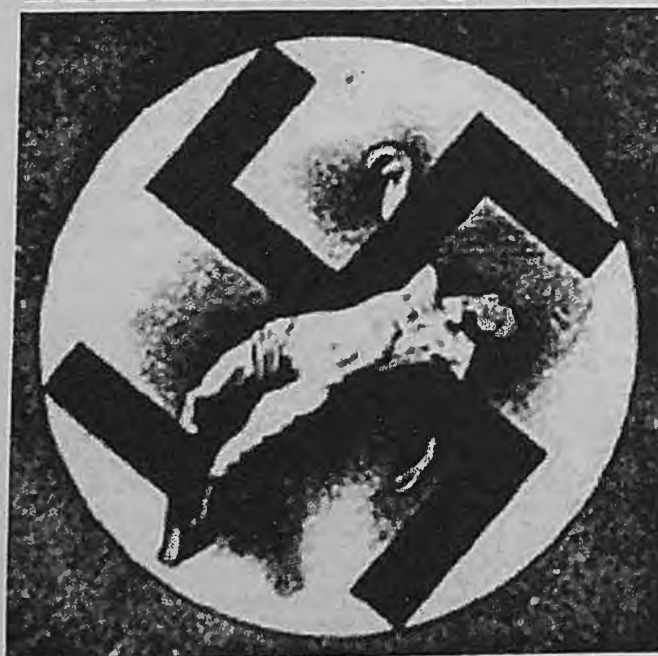
unmasked interview to journalists inside trashed headquarters of the NBP. NBP has been attacked in several other cities as well, such as St. Petersburg and Kaliningrad. Another target of Nashi has been stalinist Avant-guard of the Red Youth AKM, AKM activists have been ambushed when travelling to distribute propaganda to Moscow suburbs, after a meeting organised by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation 12th of February, when attempting to infiltrate the Nashi meeting 15th of May, and even at their home doors a few days before mayday. Spartak fans have been used for Kremlin goals in the wider sense as well, for example some time ago in a football match with Chelsea in London, a rude banner against Chechen separatist leader Ahmed Zakaev, who has asylum in UK was raised in the Spartak sector of the terrace.

Vasya Killer is not only a football hooligan who has lately been given an offer by power to cooperate or to go down. Many fellow Spartak hooligans have had little sympathy with his choice, even some other members of his own firm have publicly ostracized him.

### ANTIFA ACTION IN WARSAW

On 20 May antifas in Warsaw attacked a fascist concert. In club "Dwa Kolka" at Bem Street gig, with Headhunters, Werwolf 77, Awantura and dutch Get Out, was the concert with some 60-70 facistoids or sympathisers present, when a group of 40 antifas heavily equipped entered. Antifas retreated after the nazis pulled out something what could of been guns, yet the success was high. Unfortunately words of a local antifa, that "i don't know if anybody stayed alive inside" are highly exaggerated, yet it is sure that the bands and fans suffered casualties with arms broken, etc.

## NEVER AGAIN





# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSSES

## ABC TURKEY

### CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR MEHMET TARHAN ABUSED BY OTHER PRISONERS

Mehmet Tarhan was arrested on the 8th of April 2005 early in the morning. He was then brought to a military unit in Tokat, accompanied by military police. Because Mehmet Tarhan is refusing to co-operate in any way, he was then transferred to the military prison in Sivas. Mehmet Tarhan is a gay anarchist activist. He declared his conscientious objection on 27 October 2001, and continued anti-war activities in public ever since, without going into hiding. Mehmet Tarhan is now being charged with Article 88 Turkish Military Penal Code (TACK): "Insubordination in front of the unit". This charge carries a penalty between 3 months and 5 years imprisonment.

Mehmet Tarhan is imprisoned in the Military Prison of Sivas, where he is facing death threats and abuse. On arrival at the Military Prison in Sivas, staff sergeant Mustafa Selvi threatened Mehmet Tarhan with transfer to "Common Cell No 2", where the "wildest" prisoners are imprisoned. Later Mehmet Tarhan was ordered to enter "Common Cell No 1" on his own. The cell was dark, and the inmates (which Mehmet Tarhan could not see) ordered him to sit down on a chair next to the door. They started to ask questions.

They wanted to know whether he was a terrorist or traitor, in which case they would kill him. Then the inmates started to beat Mehmet Tarhan, and insulted him because of his long hair. One prisoner showed his weapon to Mehmet Tarhan and threatened to kill him. This attack was ended by other prisoners. Mehmet Tarhan was then transferred to the dormitory, where a few moments later the same prisoners attacked him again. They beat him all over and ripped his hair. The attack turned into an act of lynching. After 20 minutes, other prisoners again stopped the attack. After the attack in Common Cell No 2, the light bulbs in the cell were tightened again, so that the normal light in the cells were made to work again. This indicates that the attack was prepared. Later, the prisoners who beat Mehmet Tarhan came to him and told him that staff sergeant Mustafa Selvi had

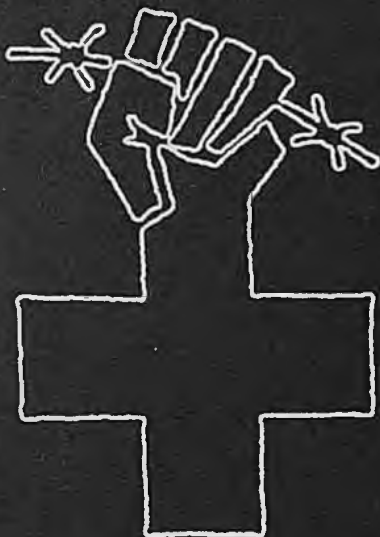
told them that he was a terrorist, and "you know how you have to deal with him".

They said that this was the reason they beat him. Mehmet Tarhan was then transferred to a single cell, but during each time Mehmet Tarhan left the cell, the same prisoners threatened him. They told him: "We could have killed you on the first day if we wanted. But we still can do it." Mehmet Tarhan was fearing for his life, and therefore did not tell anyone. But then the prisoners demanded first money, and later clothes, and telephone cards. On 29 April, again the same prisoners demanded 500YTL (about 290EUROS) and added he would know what to expect, if he would not pay. Mehmet Tarhan answered that he is unable to pay such an amount. One week later he submitted to the threats and handed over 300YTL.

Then, his extortioners demanded clothes. On 9 May 2005 they demanded three black suits. To guarantee that he would deliver, they forced him to call his sister and listened during the phone conversation. On 11 May 2005, Emine Tarhan brought two black suits, shoes, ties, and shirts to the prison, which were handed over to one of Mehmet's persecutors by the prison authorities. Mehmet Tarhan's upper lip and the right side of his lower lip was cracked as a result of these attacks. He is suffering ecchymosis at the chin, the neck, and other parts of his body. As a result of being beaten on his chest he

suffered from breathing problems until 30 April. In the following days, he continuously lost hair. Because of being beaten on his knee, legs, and feet he suffered from ecchymosis there, and for a long time had difficulties standing up.

Mehmet Tarhan informed the prison authorities about the abuse on his first day. As the report above shows, the prison authorities did nothing to stop the abuse, and actively encouraged other prisoners to abuse Mehmet Tarhan. After her visit on 19 May, Mehmet Tarhan's lawyer Suna Coskun alerted the prison authorities, and demanded an examination of Mehmet Tarhan, and a new lock for Mehmet Tarhan's cell. On 20 May, the prison authorities recorded the abuse, and promised to ensure his safety



## PRISONERS PROTEST IN KURSK (RUSSIA)

At the end of June, some 260 prisoners in Kursk region have slashed their wrists or necks in protest over poor prison conditions and alleged mistreatment. Doctors said the wounds of the inmates of Lgov prison in Kursk region were not life-threatening. The regional prosecutor, Alexander Babichev, confirmed on national television that "260 inmates mutilated themselves" to demand improved conditions and the resignation of the prison authorities.

"Following checks, facts concerning illegal treatment of detainees have been established, and those that allowed these violations will be prosecuted," he said. The self-mutilation began in 10 sections of the jail simultaneously Sunday night. Relatives of the prisoners spent Tuesday outside the jail demanding access to the inmates. Some reportedly threatened to start a hunger strike unless they got satisfactory answers.

Human rights activists said they would conduct their own investigation. The Russian prison service condemned the protest as an act of disobedience, saying inmates had "refused to accept legitimate demands of the prison authorities for the enforcement of detention rules."



# SITUATION OF CHECHEN REFUGEES IN POLAND

As war and the Russian occupation are continuing, more and more people decide to flee out of the country. Due to geographical, but also somehow political reasons, most Chechens come to Poland. Here there have been the strongest protests against 1st as well as 2nd Russian-Chechen War. Pro-Chechen demonstrations and pickets in front of Russian embassies sometimes united people with very diverse opinions and beliefs, which is a very rare case in Poland. A small nation living in the Caucasus region, which the Russians weren't able to have fully under their control since the XIX century became the common focus for many people.

## A BIT OF HISTORY

The so called «Chechen question» was hard to deal with even for Stalin, whom ordered compulsory re-settlement of all Chechens to Kazakhstan or Siberia. Stalin died, a few decades later fell the rotten Soviet Union, so Chechens went back and declared independence. Yeltsinist Russia's «tolerance» ended quickly. In a style well known from the times of Soviet Empire, Russian troops convinced of easy and fast victory invaded in 1994 the country populated by just about 1 million people. Surprisingly for the whole world, the overwhelming military power of Russia wasn't so obvious from the results of war: what was even more, the Great Army went through a few compromising failings. Militant Caucasian highlanders put up such a resistance, that after 2 years a peace agreement was signed. For most of the Russian people, decades and decades fed with state's propaganda about its own «undefeatable army» was rather a humiliating fact. Putin understood these popular feelings perfectly and since the beginning of his candidature had as goal, renewing military operations. Finally, official excuse was found, in the form of bomb explosions in 2 blocks of houses in Russian cities. With time passing, the official version of this story pointing at Chechens as perpetrators of these attacks, started to show more and more weak and questionable points. Independent Russian journalists were finding traces of Russian secret service involvement in these bombings. Then, the rather weird intrusion of Shamil Bashayev's fighters into neighbouring Dagestan occurred. This invasion failed, as it could be expected, yet Chechen soldiers and Bashayev himself somehow managed to escape from a series of sieges. After this incident, as in 1999, there was enough reasons for Russia to again enter the territory of the Republic of Ichkeria.

Unfortunately, 2nd Chechen War is very

different than the first one: now «the hawks» of both sides opened fully their wings. During the first war, Chechens had no mercy for Russian mercenaries taken as prisoners, yet regular Russian soldiers if caught, were treated differently. Those soldiers, usually very young, ended often in Chechnya after a few weeks of training, sometimes not even knowing exactly where they are. Despite massmurder on their own people by the Russian army, Chechen partisans were giving them the possibility of joining resistance. Some Russians did, and they enjoyed that same rights afterwards.

During the 2nd war such a story was unthinkable. Concerning the Russian side, during the 1st War was very visible the spontaneous movement of soldiers' mothers: this specific form of civil disobedience meant, that mothers came massively to war-ridden territories searching for their sons and trying to get them out. These missions often were successful, yet sometimes it meant just looking for corpses.

As a result of brutal Russian war operations, massmurders and creating infamous «filtratory camps», the stage was again entered by Shamil Bashayev. He decided finally, that Chechnya has no other option than to answer the state's terror with its own one. «The world since a longer time lost interest in the fate of our nation and gave Russia a free hand to solve our question» he said. Bashayev's guys made a few spectacular attacks, from which the most known and brutal one was obviously taking hostage of school kids in Beslan. Right now it is hard to say, if Bashayev was actually involved in all of these attacks. Still, he claimed to be. On other hand, he claimed even responsibility for some electricity blackout in Moscow- the possibility of his people's involvement was in this case denied by Russians themselves...

During 2nd war-which is of course still continuing-Russia was able to install a pro-Russian government, consisting of Chechens. Such a thing wouldn't be possible some years before...

## WELCOME TO POLAND

We could write much more about how negative the situation has changed for the partisans and common people living in that little country. The most extreme proof for this is the increase in the numbers of the Chechen immigrants seeking refugee-status in Poland. Polish authorities' politics are quite dubious and careful towards them. On the one side, only a very small percentage is given the refugee-status here while the rest has to wait

for years on any decision. On the other side, you hardly hear about any cases of deportation until quite recently. Mostly the Chechens are getting so called *tolerated residence*. It means more or less that the person is allowed to stay in Poland as long as the Polish authorities consider that there is no more threat of danger in their fatherland. When they decide that this is the case then the person has to go back. None of the Chechen emigrants have any idea about the key-system of the award of the *tolerated residence*. Some people tell the commission of MSW (Internal Ministry) imagined stories and get this status without any problem, while the others, being in fact well known partisans facing a death-penalty if they are sent back to Russia are getting synonymous refusal or their cases are extended for ever (so they live in permanent state of fear).

Most Chechens, coming usually with whole families (if they still have any relatives!), before they reach Poland are losing all or almost all their savings for bribes, tributes and other costs caused by the necessity of crossing these few borders. Entering the Polish territory apparently does not mean that their problems reach an end. After the introductory interview on the border they are being sent to one of the many refugee-camps in the country. After arrival they are asked if they have any money. If yes, they are obligated to pay maintenance by themselves. In other words: what didn't get stolen by the Russian or/and Ukrainian mafia is being taken away by the Polish state. The refugee-camps are organized in this matter to fulfil only the minimum necessary to survive. For instance in one of the camps with about 400 people you will find only one TV-set, no books, no newspapers and no play yard for the children. People living there are reaching very quickly a state of apathy. The Polish-language lessons in most of the camps are just fiction. The lessons, if taken place at all, are too infrequent and only children can participate. I met only one Chechen speaking Polish person and this was only due to his few months' long residence in the Polish prison. The medical care is on a fatal level also. The needs are huge and what Polish MSW offers is just a drop in the ocean of these needs. One of the bureaucrats responsible for dividing the funds directed it so that one Chechen girl received an operation costing half of what was supposed to be the budget for all the Chechen refugees in Poland. Not one of those bureaucrats even thinks about the needs for psychological help for these people even if it is obvious that all of them need it in bigger or smaller ways. Some people are in a very deep depression or



extremely physically sick. According to the rules, each person which receives *tolerated residence* has to leave the camp in about two weeks and go out on their own. The office for Refugee Affairs gives money to pay the rent for one year. After this time any help from the official side is stopped. The people are suddenly left to fend for themselves. The polish social welfare system is far too insufficient and helps only on a symbolical level. No wonder that Chechens, especially young ones, escape to Western Europe. But even those of them which are managing to cross the polish western border can not feel safer. According to the EU-regulations, each "illegal" refugee caught on EU-territory is to be sent back to the first land he/she appeared after entering the EU-border. In the case of Chechens this is Poland. Watching the conditions which the polish state made up for the refugees, one can come to the conclusion that there is a hidden plan to "invite" the refugees for heading to the west

## INITIATIVE FROM BELOW

Facing the attitude of disregard of both the polish state and the big humanitarian organisations (which take care about their public relations rather than about the refugees seeking direct and authentic support), the very common people are taking this task upon themselves. I approached many of these people in the last years. I know two girls from gymnasium spending their free time taking the Chechen children to the park, ZOO or to the play yards. I know one elderly lady, which since over one year can not find the time to undergo an important operation because she is permanently managing thousands of different things for Chechen people starting with gathering the clothes for them, healthcare, places in schools, through individual polish lessons, to accompanying them during interviews in the Office of Refugee Affairs. And I also know young women which have organized the network of good-will people to solve almost all possible problems of the many-children Chechen families - whatever it is: the pram, another packet of pampers or anything else. I could bring up much more examples of these modest heroes. What is common for all of them is that they are not doing this under a logo of any organization and wish to remain in the shadow. This way is more safe. But unfortunately all these people, who often have no time for their own private lives, are not able to help all the refugees in need. And the longer the war goes on, the more of them arrive.

By Zbyszek  
(Warsaw correspondent)

# ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT REPORTS

*In the last years the animal liberation movement started to spread more also in some countries of our region. Below is just a chronology of some recent militant actions in Russia and Turkey, but in the future we will try to inform as to the background of these struggles.*

## RUSSIA

May 7th, 2005 (Moscow region) - Activists cut barbed wire and got into a fur farm. A Silver fox and two raccoons were freed from their cages. On the fence of this fur farm slogans against the fur industry were left. All animals found their freedom far away in the forest, in spite of the fact that activists were observed by a guard of the fur farm.

May 12th, 2005 (Moscow) - RALF (Russian ALF) activists came into the building of the Biological Department of the Moscow State University and saved the lives of five frogs. During this raid vivisection's equipment was damaged and also there were slogans spray-painted against experimentation on animals. May 21, 2005 (Moscow) - RALF activists got into the Department of Physiological Pathology of the 2nd Moscow Medical Institute named after Pirogov. They found killed rats and frogs inside the vivisection lab refrigerator, but they found not one alive. Cages,

the refrigerator and other vivisection's equipment were broken. Walls of the room were spray-painted with slogans against vivisection. Quotes and images of those who made experiments on animals were painted by slogans as well. The department rooms were recently repaired, so the raid of the animals liberators was quite timely. May 29th, 2005 (Moscow region, village Andreevka) - activists got into a breeding farm. After destroying the door, they took away about 3000 mice and released them in high grass. They spoiled clothes, shoes, feed and set them on fire. The responsibility for this action was taken by Animal Rights Militia (ARM). It was the first action of ARM in Russia. June 3th, 2005 (Moscow region, village Zverosovkhoz) - ALF members cut a metal fence and got into the fur farm 'Pushkinsky'. The cages were overcrowded with ferrets. Activists took away in bags more than 180 ferrets and released them far away from the fur farm in the forest. Some of the cages were destroyed. Slogans like 'Freedom to animals!' and 'ALF' were left inside of the fur farm."

## TURKEY

"June 10, 2005 In Kadikoy/Istanbul, a small restaurant (specializing in grilled meat patties), had its windows smashed. June 14, 2005 In Izmit, the Circus "Monte Carlo's" banners were destroyed. June 25, 2005 In Istanbul's Blacksea coast, a fishing net was destroyed and two crabs were liberated from a fishing net." "12 July 2005 In Tekirdag 15 pigeons were liberated"



*In text below you will find some names of the groups (like "New Left" or "Workers Party") which are clearly authoritarian leftist organizations. Our aim by publishing this text is not to advertise them, their politics or their form of actions, but mainly to approach the housing-issue in Poland to our readers. Unfortunately, it seems like the participation of polish anarchists in the eviction blockades, which was quite wide in the past years, have recently decreased. We want to thank a lot to Piotr for preparing the following material for our magazine. ABB*

## POLAND - DETERIORATING SITUATION OF TENANTS

At the end of 2004 polish law was changed. Although rents weren't set totally free of regulation, everything is heading in this direction. Until now rents were regulated by the law. New law sustained some of the regulations, but the constitutional tribunal

outside. In many, walls are virtually falling apart. Local authorities say that they cannot give these people better living conditions due to lack of money. That does not mean that they don't collect rents from inhabitants of these barracks. People mutinied against this situation. They say that the rents for living in such conditions are too high and they refused to pay. Some of them stated that they will pay if they get normal flats. The situation is even worse because the local government is evicting these barracks, also people with children and disabled, what is even against the law.

Minsk inhabitants who are living in communal houses (belonging to the city) are also complaining. They say that rents are very high

inhabitants. They also want fare rents.

In the last days Warsaw's city council passed a resolution on creating temporary flats. They want to move people who are in debt for not paying the rent to three barracks. They also want them to pay rents for living there. Barracks have rooms for 6 persons so strangers will be moved to one room. People who are poor or sick will have to live with drunks and criminals. Social organizations already called it "creating a ghetto". Warsaw city council members, who supported this resolution say that there will be social workers working with the evicted, but no hard facts were said about it so it is very possible that this "social work" will remain just on paper. There are rumors that also other local governments are planning to build ghettos for the poor.

The situation may be even worse, because some right wing politicians say that they want to re-establish eviction on the street. That is why several anarchist and left groups together with All-poland's Union of Unemployed formed a campaign "Flat is a right, not a merchandise" ([www.mieszkani-prawem.w.pl](http://www.mieszkani-prawem.w.pl)). The aim of this campaign is to force local authorities to go in for creating cheap housing and to organize tenants to fight for their rights.

Piotr Ciszewski



decided that it is unconstitutional. It means that the law has to be changed again. For tenants living in private blocks of flats it means much higher costs. The situation is even worse, because houses that were confiscated in "socialist" times are being given back to old owners and they are interested in rising rents. Most of their inhabitants won't be able to pay more. Many of them are already in debts because of high unemployment.

Nowadays, due to the social campaign of blocking evictions and actions of different groups, it is illegal to evict people without giving them another flat. They have to get a social or temporary flat. A social flat is being given to people who have children, are pensioners or disabled. The standard of these social flats is set by the law. Other tenants may be moved to temporary flats. The main problem with them is that a temporary flat can be virtually anything. Its standards are very low. In practice in many cities they are just barracks with one kitchen and bathroom for several flats. Also it is not stated how long people should live in these temporary flats.

One of the most drastic situations is in Minsk Mazowiecki (town near Warsaw) where several hundred people are living in barracks that are several dozen years old. This "temporary" state lasts for several years. They are using water from the well that is virtually unusable. Some barracks also have latrines

and local authorities want to get rid of them and sell flats on the free market. This led to establishing the Association of Minsk's Tenants; a group providing legal help and trying to negotiate with the town mayor. One of the illegal evictions (of a disabled woman with children) was already blocked by several dozen local inhabitants and activists of the *New Left*, *Red Collective - Left Alternative* (group of left anti-authoritarian and anarchist activists - ABB) and *Group for the Worker's Party*. The Sheriff's officer wasn't let into the house. He had to negotiate and said that he will ask the court if the eviction was necessary.

After the blockade over 50 people marched through the streets of the town with a banner "A flat is a law, not merchandise". Demonstrators entered mayor's office, demanding talks about the tenant's situation. Police did not intervene and the mayor promised to begin negotiations with the tenants association. Under pressure he also cancelled other evictions. The first talks had already been held. People demand new communal houses and moving to them the barrack's





# FOOD NOT BOMBS IN PETERSBURG - FIRST HALF A YEAR

BY BUCKWHEAT'S AND CARROTS

The first Food Not Bombs action in Petersburg happened in the end of January 2005, so now we can celebrate the first half a year of our activities. The local kids (all coming from diy-punk-hardcore scene) got huge inspiration from people in Moscow who had started distributing free food some months before that. First we planned to make actions once a month, but then it became clear that it's possible weekly! All meals have been cooked at home, in our own humble kitchens. Unfortunately, we found no way to get the food for free (dumpster-diving is not really an option), so everything needs to be bought. Money has been raised from various punk-hardcore etc. gigs and donated by some kind people. Lack of funds is often a problem, so actions may be cancelled, but in fact it only happened a couple of times. So every week up

to 100 portions of hot vegan / vegetarian food is being distributed, in cold season like winter and spring there is more demand for it, now in summer - a bit less. The whole thing takes place on Vladimirskaia square in the center of the city, where many homeless and just poor people are hanging out.

At one of the first actions some nazis came to the square to distribute their bullshit leaflets and wanted to attack hardcore-punk kids who just brought a pot with food. But then nazis were stopped... by cops who took away their leaflets and a hammer which one of the teenage patriots had on him. Fortunately, cops have nothing against distributing free food (in Moscow the situation is the same), they only want us not to throw garbage on the street (which we don't do anyway). But the problem with nazis remained - they have been making

their pickets (permitted by the authorities) nearby 2-4 times a month, and once they took some pictures of our action. First there was a decision to move to another place, but it was not successful, because very few possible "clients" came there. So we returned to Vladimirskaia and decided to start a couple of hours later than before, so that we don't coincide with nazis' action in any way.

There is now a CD-R compilation available - it is benefit for our Food Not Bombs group and includes songs by 27 local punk-hardcore-whatever bands. You can order it from "Epicenter" info-shop address ([epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru](mailto:epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru)).

Also this year new Food Not Bombs groups have been founded in Kirov (Russia), Kiev (Ukraine) and Minsk (Belarus).

## REBUILDING THE SOCIAL TIES - CRUSHED DOWN BY AUTHORITIES

### FOOD NOT BOMBS IN BELARUS

FOOD NOT BOMBS actions take place in the city of Minsk every Saturday for more than one month now. Every time the collective succeeds to feed about 60-80 people with delicious and warm vegan food. The staff of the collective is diverse and varies from anarchy-punk to krishna-its, but they are united by the impulse to help those who are in need, and what is more important, to demonstrate, that it is possible to change the world by helping each other... The reactions of the commoners are mainly positive, but of course the reproaches are also heard. During the last action (June 23) somebody of the nearest houses' tenants had called the police. The actions of the police patrol were inert and after some explanations ("We only want to help..." and "We all have sanitary permissions") they made a list of surnames of those 4 people who were holding scoops in their hands, and left. The police declared that the participants were law-abiding and that their personal data were necessary only for information.... In future, activists of Food Not Bombs are planning to keep on doing actions in Minsk and don't intend to change their permanent place for the moment. To contact Minsk Food Not Bombs collective please send an e-mail at [fnbm@narod.ru](mailto:fnbm@narod.ru)

The first attempt to organize a Food Not Bombs action in the city of Homel on July 17

also resulted in police interference. The situation was similar to the incident in Minsk, but even more absurd. Somebody had called the police; they came and drew up a report. One of the participants was accused of "blocking the pavement with tables of food for free distribution". Besides, the attitude of the commoners to the Food Not Bombs was rather hostile, they considered it as humiliation of their dignity, whereas they were not in need of food. It should be mentioned also that some of the passers-by took the food in order to express their dissent with the police actions.

In Belarus every grassroots action, not only anarchy-punk concerts, but even free distribution of food must be sanctioned by the authorities. The level of social distrust is so high that people simply don't believe that food can be distributed for free with the only aim - to help those who are in need. It is accompanied with hostility to the outcasts and indifference towards other people's sufferings. The fact that the police in both cases most likely were called by the common people,

proves that the authorities almost succeeded in their mission - to crush social ties, which make possible social solidarity and concern. And this makes such grassroots actions as Food Not Bombs even more important.



*"During our trip in the Balkans we met activists from the anarchist group Anarcho Resistance from Sofia. We found it really important to publish more information about this group as they are involved in a lot of projects and actions not only in Bulgaria but also in the South-east region" (And we would like to thank a lot to our travelling correspondents for this interview - ABB)*

**"IF THERE IS A LARGE PERCENT OF PEOPLE NOT VOTING THEN IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE INTERESTING TO SEE HOW THEY WILL EXPLAIN THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BULGARIA"**

## **INTERVIEW WITH ANARCHO RESISTANCE**

**16 MAY 2005; SOFIA**

*How your project started and what was the idea, that got your group together?*

Well let's say that we started in 1999. First we have started to work on the web site: [www.anarchia.bg](http://www.anarchia.bg); then with the web newspaper Hliab I Svoboda (Bread and Freedom). In the beginning it was only available on the internet but after that the old anarchists supported us by giving us some space in their newspaper so we started to publish some pages under the name Anarcho Resistance and our group now has the same name.

Our first activity together was actually exactly after the murder of Carlo Giuliani in Genova 2001. Two days later we demonstrated in front of the Italian embassy in Sofia. The next years we were mostly busy publishing the newspaper and organizing protests against NATO and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Nowadays we are publishing the whole newspaper and some of us are involved also in other activities such as Indymedia Bulgaria, Free Speech-radio show and antifa actions.

*What kind of infrastructures do you have for your work?*

In this room which is by

now only our office and meeting place we plan also to make an Infoshop. We are gathering some material now.

*What is happening with the Bulgarian Federation of Anarchists?*

They have an archive and are publishing some anarchistic books. The old anarchists have also a club. It is not in the centre and this is making it much more difficult for people who work or go to school to visit it, that's why we are looking now for some other place.

There is one apartment where they have a lot of literature for the time before 9th September 1989 and also some translations of classical authors, for example Bread and Freedom from Kropotkin. Some of them like Georgi Konstantinov are also publishing their books. In Zagreb and Skopje (on the bookfairs) I have seen a lot of new authors and issues which are not so common here but it is still very good that the old anarchists are so active.

This apartment here is also used from the activists from Food Not Bombs\* which used to put here their equipment.

There is also one punk club existing but it is changing its location all the time, so we still do not know if it will exist after some months.

*What are the topics that seem to be problematic now for the Bulgarian society and which from them find place also in your newspaper and activism?*

We include in our newspaper almost everything: protests of workers, actions of different groups, different issues related to NATO and EU, economical analyses, ecological problems, information about the wars in Palestine and Iraq and so on.

Recently main topics are also the nationalism and fascism, both which are getting stronger in our society, that's why

we are trying to mention them often.

We are not trying to reach the level of the professional journalists. We are doing this only from personal enthusiasm to reach the normal people and to inform them. Some of us have more to do with ecological topics and they write for example about the construction of a new power plant in Bulgaria which is supposed to happen soon in Beliane\*\*.

We are publishing also international news by looking for information in the Internet. We try to use different sources - Indymedia is one of them.

We publish also the so-called "contraculture" topics, including articles and materials from activists who are living now in other countries. If we have to be more specific this is connected with direct actions in which some relatives took part: they share their practical experience and some useful information for the people here (how to make political graffiti, antifa actions, autonomous groups and etc.).

*What was the atmosphere in the society after the entering of Bulgaria in NATO in the spring of 2004? What was your reaction to all this?*

Before some days I have heard that they are already discussing where in Bulgaria to situate the first military bases of NATO...

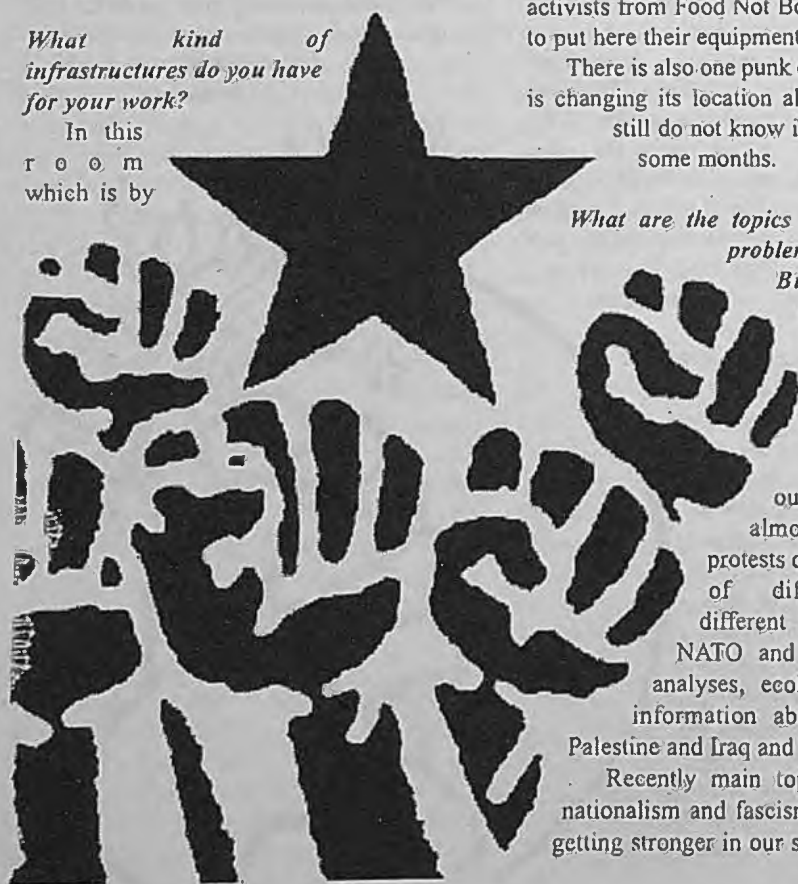
Let's be more clear... We are against this... Totally against and this is sure I think. We are organizing anti-NATO protests; we are producing stickers, leaflets and everything possible against it.

The society here is apathetic as it is also for a lot of other important things, which are happening. When we demonstrate we are a dozen people not more. The authorities are trying hard not to allow such kinds of activities at all but we somehow manage.

On 2nd April 2004 there was an official concert for celebrating the entering of NATO. There were lots of propaganda campaigns and advertising organized from the state, in order to prepare the society for this. Of course, the people went there to see the show and entertain themselves.

*Is there a kind of coalition formed against NATO?*

There is a coalition against it, consisting





from communists and other kind of left orientated political groups such as Che Gevarra and 23 September (neocommunists). Some nationalistic organizations such as BNS (Bulgarian National Unity) are also against NATO and the war in Iraq.

Yes, may be it sounds strange but in Bulgaria and also in Greece often it happens to see communists, anarchists and nationalists together on an antiwar or anti NATO demonstrations.

***Bulgaria should join EU in 2007. What are the emotions in the society concerning all the changes that are supposed to happen?***

What is important to say about this is that Romania and Bulgaria are the only countries which have entered NATO without referendum. So we expect that there won't be also for this in EU.

This from one side is really awful but from the other it is not, because then for us this decision to join EU is illegal.

In general it is really difficult for me to talk about the EU with the normal people. Some of them are sure that it would be better than now: the borders would be open and they would be able to travel.

But if we look at the situation realistically the Shengen visas are away from already 6-7 years and it is getting much more difficult for the normal people to travel. A lot of people still believe the politicians who are saying that we should make our best that we should fall on our knees and then some unbelievable miracles will happen. But I feel that for some time that more and more people started to feel the negative consequences - for example the prices are constantly getting higher and the salaries are almost the same as before.

Unfortunately most of the people who have a negative opinion about EU and the globalization process are nationalists and they are mentioning things like "our national identity and our country...."

They are usually talking about strict borders and powerful countries, about the national capital - "We should keep our money inside the country and not make them international!" - they say. This idea I find much more utopist than the anarchistic ideas which are criticized to be unrealistic.

Our view for the entering in EU is far away from this patriotic and nationalistic ideas. Much more important is not the economical but the social side of the problem: this is not the unity of the people but the unity of the capitalism. That is why we are against it.

By now we were more active in organizing actions against NATO. The people here are still not realizing that we are entering into the EU. But after it happens it will be too late. The biggest problem is that all the Medias are mentioning only the positive sides. There is not even one left

orientated media. Everything is a big propaganda from the state.

***Is it true that the process of entering EU and NATO is much faster in Bulgaria and Romania than in the other countries that have recently entered?***

Of course it is. The process in Romania and Bulgaria is much more intensive because they urgently need new markets and territories. It is clear that our standards here are far away from the expectations of EU requirements but we are like a small Asia for them - a place where they can find plenty of cheap working force and unused resources. There are already exploiting it. It will not be a miracle if we enter even before 2007 because our State is fulfilling all the requirements which are coming from the European Commission.

***There would be elections in Bulgaria in the end of June this year for new government. What are your expectations?***

For me if one or the other party will win it is absolutely the same.

We are starting an anti voting campaign. Our next edition will be devoted almost only on this topic. We may not be able to stop them happening, but it is time for more people to realize that there is no sense in any of this.

***Can you explain briefly what is the political situation before the elections?***

Most of the people believe that the BSP (Bulgarian Socialist Party) will win the elections. Now most of the people say that they will not vote, however before 4 years they have said the same and then suddenly some months before the elections came the so called King Simeon Sakso-Burgotski and formed a party which at the end won the elections with the votes of the same people. One month later all of them were confusingly asking "Hey, who voted for this fucker?". If this year nobody else will show up in the last minute then probably the socialists will win. \*\*\*

Briefly, we think that the socialists will win the elections but we do not expect some different politic from them.

BSP is not in any way left- they are for NATO and military bases, for entering EU and for sending soldiers in Iraq. Practically we do not have any left political space. That is why we will continue to boycott the elections.

And we are doing now a campaign on our Indymedia. The people should not try to sabotage the elections by writing bullshit on a piece of paper because after that this is taken as an invalid vote. We believe that if there is a big percent of people not voting then it would be much more interesting to see how they will explain the political

situation in Bulgaria.

We will make different anti-elections activities:

posters, leaflets, stickers and articles in Indymedia.

We do not have such good possibilities to make it massive, so everything else comes from the motivation and initiative of people themselves. We only want to provoke the society.

***Indymedia Bulgaria exists for not more than a year, how it is developing till now?***

It exists from even less than a year and there are and there are more than 900 people who are visiting it every day.

There are not so many people who are writing articles. There are also not so many activities and the people are not used to being the media themselves.

In the beginning most of the people were entering from foreign servers but now it is fifty fifty.

Our English versions are not so many. We even have a banner that we need help for translations but there is not so much response.

We are trying to put some info on the other Indymedias but somehow we do not manage to make it often.

***What is the activeness of the Antifa structures at the moment?***

In 2003 after the protests in Solun we made a two days lasting antifa fest in Sofia with projections, discussions, concerts and demonstrations.

The fascists are gathering on every national celebration and are organizing some "events"- actually things like contests for children on the topic- "My beautiful Bulgaria". In April they gathered more than 150 people, which is a lot for Bulgaria

***In the shops in Sofia we have seen a lot of fascist stickers, T-shirts, badges and also "Mein Kampf" you can find in every bookshop?!***

Yes, it is massive. These people who are

selling all this do not care when it is sold very good.

In Germany it is forbidden to sell "Mein Kampf" but here after this book came out there were big posters with Hitler and the fascist flag hanging around.

These kinds of books are distributed by two publishers- Gar ptiza and Gerava. For them is clear - they are fascists cause they publish also anti- Jewish literature.

BNS (Bulgarian National Union) is the party of the nationalists and their campaigns are related a lot with social policy. In this way they are trying to reach more people. And they are getting more powerful the last years.

They also have TV shows in which Volen Siderov\*\*\* was talking with the map of Great Bulgaria as his background.

As long as they're not able to get into the government they would be against it. They will be against the war in Iraq too...But in

the next minute they will take part in the elections and posters of their leaders.

*\*The group of FNB is existing from less than half a year in Sofia. It had some success but due to lack of volunteers organizing it has recently stopped existing for a while ...we hope that they will gather again soon, cause there are a lot of people who need them).*

*\*\*Town in northern part of Bulgaria, not so far away from the other power plant in Kozlodui, whose partly closing there is discussed between the Bulgarian Parliament and the EU Commission since years.*

*\*\*\* After the voting it became clear that nobody has a majority so the parties started to discuss the possibilities of coalitions. It was really unexpected that the nationalistic party, leaded by the well known fascist (Volen Siderov) won 9% of the votes, which is really a lot for Bulgaria. On other side are the socialists and the Turkish party (DPS).*



## CALM (BEFORE THE STORM?)

I'm starting to be afraid that nobody would read this report any more. As usual, I basically don't have anything to report. No street actions, no direct actions, no social actions, no protest. I mean, there are groups and organizations working on things, but they are basically small, on day-to-day basis, and besides that they are busy with keeping things (info-cafe, magazines, distros) working. Let's make things clear: Czech anarchist movement is currently in a crisis, without street presentation, and after the Mayday disaster (see last ABB) in defensive. I hope that it will be better after the summer, when people stop traveling and return to day daily lives, but so far it seems we are in the weak period.

The tickets for public transport went up terribly high (from 12Kc to 20Kc for 90 min. ticket), but the whole process passed without any protest. Just a few press releases, both by anarchist groups (CSAF) and by NGOs working on traffic issues, but that was all. It just seems that Czechia is one of the most apathetic countries I've ever seen.

One of the themes of this issue of ABB is re-appropriation. Once again, I couldn't write anything about that. Not because I don't want to, but just because

nothing like that actually happens in Czechia. There are two (political) squats, one half-legal in Prague and another one in a smaller town. Is that it? Probably yes, but the whole squat "movement" had two options: make a deal with authorities or to be evicted. Those who didn't do a deal were evicted; those who did were either evicted a few years ago or became basically apolitical (and sometimes anti-political) places. And it has to be said it never was an actual movement with support outside of occupied houses, in which just a few people did.

Besides that, people don't do anything on any scale worth mentioning - nothing that could be referred to as "mass action." Just one exception - Czech people are used to stealing things in their workplaces. Everybody does it and it could be truly said that anything that could be used (free phoning, free copying, free pens to company t-shirts, papers for printing, CD-Rs etc.) is used and nobody regards it as something bad; well, a few right-wing commentators do, talking about "communist" (they mean the state-communist ones) tradition that is deeply rooted in Czech people with it's famous slogan "WHO DOESN'T STEAL ACTUALLY STEALS FROM HIS FAMILY". That's all for now.

This column is the subjective view of its author and other people could have different ideas

Pavel  
ABB Czech correspondent  
apf@seznam.cz



## NEW AUTHORITY - NEW EXPENSES

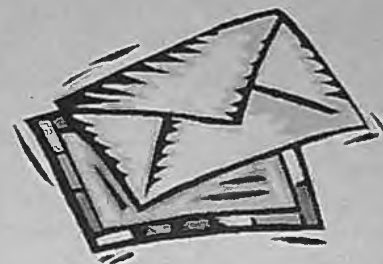
The new "orange" authority in the Ukraine wants very much to show that it is doing something good for the people and that there are big changes in the country. Almost each day the news starts with accounts of the new authority's progresses. Mainly it relates how the people of the "present opposition" are being invited (and not officially summoned) to ask questions (and not for interrogation) - it's a fact that persons do not appear usually. Or there are images of people appearing with the militia and after that coming out from the station with their security guards smiling and quietly taking place in his car. People are being instituted with criminal proceedings for insignificant crimes, but big ones are "absolved". The new authority tries very much to dispose of "old" people and set there instead their own "one's". The president issues "strict" ukases, for example to liquidate road militia (the most corrupt part of the Ukrainian militia) and replace it with some sort of structure similar to the European model of police, but the boss of the old structure remains the boss of the new one.

At the same time not any economic improvements are to be observed in the country. Prices have risen and holes have appeared in the budget. The western media are calling the methods of reprivatization, introduced by new





# LETTERS = POLEMICS



Here comes another letter/polemic by one of our readers. We are always open to print the polemics by east European anarchists, however we would like to encourage more different persons from different regions of EE to take voice in the future, in order to avoid a two-person never ending dialogues. Feel free to write your critics or ideas about problems of east European anarchist movements.

*Your ABB Crew.*

## Greetings!

I take my chance to answer to the letter of Laura in No.18 of ABB, which was in turn an answer to my earlier letter of a critic of the Polish Anarchist movement. (...) After reading my letter in 17 of ABB, where the majority of it was criticism of reformism and a lack of offensive capabilities of the Polish Anarchist movement, Laura picked up only the end of the letter talking about "creating false Unity" and "organizational fetish", and she claims that that is the biggest problem for me. Indeed, in taking the position of defending the Anarchist Federation it is very comfortable just to pretend that most of my criticisms were never written and because they don't exist, there is no need to answer them. I know that Laura certainly doesn't have a problem with reading English, therefore I think skipping most of my letter and replying only to the last little paragraph was intentional. Therefore I will write it again, this time more quickly. I think the problems of reformism and the lack of offensive initiatives and projects are a problem of Polish anarchists and to some extent (as far as my observations go although I might be wrong) the Eastern European movement. I wanted also to state here, that while I criticized the Anarchist Federation, I know many excellent people, some of them my good comrades, in its ranks and it was by no means an attempt at labelling all of them as reformists or anything like this. I also wanted to make clear that I don't consider groups like Leftist Alternative or Workers Initiative anarchist at all.

Lets move to the problem again. I find it very saddening that for example the term of "revolutionary solidarity" is completely unknown in Poland. While anarchists are subject to hard repressions everywhere in Europe (including Poland more and more these years) the only thing the movement can do is to organize "protests", which are in many cases completely meaningless (best example is

leaflet of Poznan Anarchist (?) Federation and Anarchist (?) Black Cross commenting on police aggression on one of the squatted cultural centers and actually demanding police to respect the law, that is according to authors of the leaflet "fundamentals of a democratic state" - indeed hard to find a more pathetic and sad example for how far some Polish anarchists go in trying to be nice and not too hard). I am not saying that street protests in reaction to police repressions are something bad, far from it. I am just saying that it is very important what kind of message they bring. If "anarchists" start talking about "greater public control of police force" I don't know whether to laugh or to cry. We are not a political party that tries to win more followers, therefore we must be honest about what we really want - and I want the destruction of all state structures, not their reform.

Leaving those completely reformist messages aside, other forms of expressing solidarity than street protests or protest letters are completely unknown to Polish anarchists. Do you want to express your solidarity with squatters fighting police repression? Why not smash a few windows of the local courts, prosecutors' office, sabotage some police cars, make some anti-cop and anti-state graffiti on the walls and governmental buildings.

No, Polish anarchists would never think about something like that, all protests have to be in the limits of democracy and can't be too hard, otherwise there will be more repression. With this kind of approach, believe me or not, but we are giving the green light to police scum to make more and more actions against us, as they clearly see nothing endangers them. I don't want to get too excited about Greece and I realize it's a completely different country than Poland, but just to give example of solidarity there - Greek cops are much more reluctant to attack anarchists and frame them up in courts, as they realize

the answer will be not a protest letter but rocks and Molotovs aimed at them. Of course I am not saying that this is exactly what we should do always, but more aggressive answers are needed definitely. Methods should be chosen according to needs of the particular situation. The same goes with the problem of recent fascist violence against gay parades and more and more dictatorial behaviour of Warsaw's President Kaczynski. Instead of participating in pointless demonstrations against Młodzież Wszechpolska (youth fascist group) when they were organizing their "Parade of Normality", standing under the protection of police, people could wait before or hunt those scum after an event and show them directly what violence looks like when they are on the receiving end of it. If you were too far away from Warsaw, you can always find offices of MW or other political parties responsible for homophobic propaganda and actions and leave them your message in whatever way you think is appropriate. Is it something impossible to reach? I don't know, but I hope that with the new generation of Polish anarchists that is growing now, these kind of things will be possible. That we will stop talking about direct democracies, revolts that are good far away but never here (Argentina, Chiapas...) and we will confront the state as much as we can. Otherwise we are just pretending to be anarchists and we sit in the shadow taking care that our activities will be purely academic or will not reach beyond the symbolic, peaceful actions, at the same moment criticizing anybody doing something more as "teenagers", "idiots" or even worse, "a police provocator".

To Laura and anybody else - if you feel like answering, you are welcomed but if you want to ridicule me or take a few sentences out of the context and write only about these, please don't bother. Fire to the state and to all its false critics!

*Internal Enemy*



# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

THE NEVER COMPLETE LIST OF ANARCHIST GROUPS,  
PROJECTS AND COLLECTIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE

## WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM

[www.altermost.org.pl](http://www.altermost.org.pl) (good english)  
[www.mbb.hardcore.lt](http://www.mbb.hardcore.lt) (bad english)

## ARMENIA

\* "Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; [vaga@freemnet.am](mailto:vaga@freemnet.am)

## BELARUS

\* ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o. box 217; [intolerant@autonom.zn.com](mailto:intolerant@autonom.zn.com); [www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru](http://www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru)  
\* AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk; [restless81@mail.com](mailto:restless81@mail.com)  
\* Anarchist Library - Minsk; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)  
\* Anti-McDonald - <http://belmac.narod.ru>; <http://kompaktor.narod.ru>  
\* ANTYFA - antifascist group; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)  
\* Autonomous Action / Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno  
\* Autonomous Action / Minsk (Belarus) [belarus@avtonom.org](mailto:belarus@avtonom.org); [www.belarus.avtonom.org](http://www.belarus.avtonom.org)  
\* BAF / Belarusian Anarchy Front - [baf@list.ru](mailto:baf@list.ru)  
\* Belarusian Linux Community - [www.linux.bitech.by](http://www.linux.bitech.by)  
\* "Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; [ecoaction@tut.by](mailto:ecoaction@tut.by)  
\* FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist - Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134; - Novopoloc; [nuts-1@rambler.ru](mailto:nuts-1@rambler.ru)  
\* Food Not Bombs - Minsk - [fnbminsk@narod.ru](mailto:fnbminsk@narod.ru)  
\* "Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; [ksonia\\_izberg@mail.ru](mailto:ksonia_izberg@mail.ru)  
\* KDS "Razam" / Confederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; [kds-razam@tut.by](mailto:kds-razam@tut.by); [www.razam.by.ru](http://www.razam.by.ru)  
\* "Navinki" - satirical anarchist quarterly newspaper; Minsk; [kampramat@tut.by](mailto:kampramat@tut.by)  
\* "Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; [rebelgirls@mail.ru](mailto:rebelgirls@mail.ru)  
\* [www.aparehistory.boom.ru](http://www.aparehistory.boom.ru) - history of anarchy in Belarus  
\* [www.375crew.org](http://www.375crew.org) - diy. political punk / hardcore culture of Belarus

## BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

\* Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" - Banjaluka; [ab\\_useyu@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk)  
\* [www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com](http://www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com) - anarchist info from BiH

## BULGARIA

\* "Anarho Saprotiya" (Anarchist Resistance) - newspaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>  
\* "Chiyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspaper / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>; [svoboda@bulgaria.com](mailto:svoboda@bulgaria.com)  
\* "Anarchy in BG" - <http://change.to/anarchy>  
\* [www.stand.at/struggle](http://www.stand.at/struggle) - anarchist web-site with lot of interesting historical material

## CROATIA

\* [www.kontra-punkt.info](http://www.kontra-punkt.info) - anarchist information & discussion web-site  
\* AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - [anfema@zaminet.net](mailto:anfema@zaminet.net); [www.anfema.tk](http://www.anfema.tk)



\* "Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K Roje; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; <http://squat.act/monteparadiso>; [info@monteparadiso.hr](mailto:info@monteparadiso.hr)  
\* Rijeka anarchist initiative - [www.raj.anarhija.org](http://www.raj.anarhija.org); [raj200@net.hr](mailto:raj200@net.hr); [anarhist\\_rj@yahoo.com](mailto:anarhist_rj@yahoo.com)  
\* "SKATULA" - infoshop in Rijeka; u Kruznoj 8; open Wed & Thurs. 17-21  
\* "Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in Cakovec; address: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce, Croatia  
\* Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; [zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com](mailto:zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com); [www.solidarnost.mahost.org](http://www.solidarnost.mahost.org)  
\* [www.stocitas.org](http://www.stocitas.org) - Antiauthoritarian publisher

## CZECHIA

\* ABC-CSAF - c/o P.H., po box 41, 565-01 Chocen. [abc@csaf.cz](mailto:abc@csaf.cz)  
\* AFA - anarchist anti-fascists group; po box 81; 100 81 Praha 105; [afa\\_praha@volny.cz](mailto:afa_praha@volny.cz)  
\* AKA AnarchoCommunist Alternative - AKA-CZ@email.cz; phone number: +420777637863  
\* "A-Kontra" - anarchist magazine and collective. po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; [a-kontra@csaf.cz](mailto:a-kontra@csaf.cz)  
\* Anarchist Group Uherske Hradiste - <http://uhars.wz.cz>; [uhars@email.cz](mailto:uhars@email.cz); "Bazar", P.O.Box 24; 686 01 Uh.Hradiste  
\* [www.antifa.cz](http://www.antifa.cz) - Czech Antifa  
\* CSAF / Czechia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation) - po box 223, 111 21 Prague 1; [intersec@csaf.cz](mailto:intersec@csaf.cz); [www.csaf.cz/english](http://www.csaf.cz/english)  
\* Federaci socialnich anarchistu (FSA - IWA) (Federation of Social Anarchists) - P.O box 5; 15006 Praha 56; [fsa\\_intersec@anarchismus.org](mailto:fsa_intersec@anarchismus.org); <http://fsa.anarchismus.org>  
\* Feminist Alliance of March 8 - @-feminist group; [fs8.brezna@centrum.cz](mailto:fs8.brezna@centrum.cz)  
\* Info-Shop - Sochanska 6, Prague.  
\* "MILADA" - squat in Prague; [milada.sq@volny.cz](mailto:milada.sq@volny.cz)  
\* "Collectively Against Capitalism" - [alarm@solidarita.org](mailto:alarm@solidarita.org); [paha@solidarita.org](mailto:paha@solidarita.org); [brno@solidarita.org](mailto:brno@solidarita.org); [1155@solidarita.org](mailto:1155@solidarita.org)  
\* PH - international secretariat of CSAF [intersec@csaf.cz](mailto:intersec@csaf.cz)

## ESTONIA

\* [www.hot.ee/anarhism](http://www.hot.ee/anarhism) - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

## HUNGARY

\* BARRICADE COLLECTIVE - anarchist group; <http://www.anarkom.lapja.hu>  
\* "GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIUM" - anarchist bookshop; [www.ainfo.kini.hu](http://www.ainfo.kini.hu); [gondolkodo@citromail.hu](mailto:gondolkodo@citromail.hu) Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva-ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18;  
\* Social Disease Kollektiva (anarhopunk collective) - <http://socialdisease.tk>  
\* [www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo](http://www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo) - anarchist web-site

## KAZAKHSTAN

\* [www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru](http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru) - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

## LATVIA

\* Pretspars Collective - zinc, distro, web, actions - <http://pretspars.hardcore.lt>; [pretspars@riseup.net](mailto:pretspars@riseup.net)  
\* "ZABADAKS" - DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia; [www.nekac.lv](http://www.nekac.lv); [maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv](mailto:maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv)

## LITHUANIA

\* [active@hardcore.lt](mailto:active@hardcore.lt) - LT activists network  
\* "BENDRADARBIAS" - autonomous culture centre in Siauliai; Vytauto g. 103 A, Siauliai; tel. 370 69909049  
\* [booking@hardcore.lt](mailto:booking@hardcore.lt) - booking in Lithuania  
\* "GREEN" - diy culture club in Vilnius; Maironio 3 (in the yard), Vilnius; [booking@hardcore.lt](mailto:booking@hardcore.lt)  
\* [www.hardcore.lt](http://www.hardcore.lt) - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

## MACEDONIA

\* direct action - anarchist collective [directa@freemil.com.mk](mailto:directa@freemil.com.mk)  
\* fuck yoga - a distro and label [neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com](mailto:neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com)  
\* kaka - a distro and label [surovo@yahoo.com](mailto:surovo@yahoo.com)  
\* napravi sam - a collective [radexoo2000@yahoo.com](mailto:radexoo2000@yahoo.com)  
\* teror 13 - a infoshop [info@teror13.tk](mailto:info@teror13.tk); [www.teror13.anarhija.org](http://www.teror13.anarhija.org)

## POLAND

\* ABC/ACK - [www.ack.most.org.pl](http://www.ack.most.org.pl)  
- Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121. [biuletyn@ack.w.pl](mailto:biuletyn@ack.w.pl)  
- Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31. [sanch@poczta.wp.pl](mailto:sanch@poczta.wp.pl)  
- Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. [bifa@polbox.com](mailto:bifa@polbox.com)  
- Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12.  
- Trojmiasto - [pomierz@friko2.onet.pl](mailto:pomierz@friko2.onet.pl)  
- Wroclaw - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagiellońska 10D; 50-240 Wroclaw. [pbn@poprostu.pl](mailto:pbn@poprostu.pl)  
- Lublin - Piotr Hiller; ul. Cwiklinskiego 2/30; 20-067 Lublin. [cakier@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:cakier@poczta.onet.pl)  
- Lodz - CIL, Po BOX 203, 90-950, Lodz 1; [falodz@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:falodz@poczta.onet.pl)  
\* Anarchist Library - ul. Palaskiego 21a; Poznan.  
\* Anarchist Library - ul. Jagiellońska 10D; Wroclaw.

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

★ **"A-TAK"** - anarchist magazine from Krakow; atak@poprostu (contact); atak.dysturbia@wp.pl (distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html

★ **"A-zine"** - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L. Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. eube@zigzag.pl

★ **"BUNKIER"** ("B.48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 48; Torun; dr.ozdzu@interia.pl

★ **"C-4"** - alternative culture centre in Lodz (ul. Weglowa 4).

★ **"Czarny Blok"** ("Black Bloc") - anarchist publication in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.

★ **"De Centrum"** - anarchist squat in Bialystok, adress: ul. Czeszochowska 14/2; www.decentrum.prv.pl

★ **EMANCYPUNK** - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.

★ **FA (Anarchist Federation)** - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.

- FA - virtual collective secretary - biurofa@go2.pl
- FA-Biala Podlaska - fabp@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-Bialystok - wildeast@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-Czeszochowa - akielasiak@wp.pl
- FA-RSA Gdansk - jwal@pg.gda.pl
- FA-Inowroclaw - pychu@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-Krakow - lukasdab@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-Lublin - falublin@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-Lodz - falodz@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-Opole - sobol13@o2.pl
- FA-Ostrowiec Sw. - marcin@natura.most.org.pl
- FA-Poznan - fa-poznan@o2.pl
- FA-Rzeszow - xjedrusx@o2.pl
- FA-Slupsk - onetbiatid@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-RSA Sochaczew - antinazi@friko6.onet.pl
- FA-Szczecin - fa\_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl
- FA-Warszawa - natak@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-Warszawa/Praga - hydrozag@poczta.onet.pl
- FA-Wroclaw - ahm@o2.pl
- FA Zyrardow - sidtom@poczta.wp.pl

★ **Food Not Bombs**

- Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45.
- Olsztyn - cdelweiss@o2.pl
- Rzeszow - ul. Kuźnia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel. 602769138.
- Gliwice - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl

★ **"FREEDOM"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonezyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@go2.pl

★ **Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarność"** (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.

★ **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"** Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.) Open: Mon.-Fri. 18<sup>00</sup>-20<sup>00</sup> or longer, Sun. 14<sup>00</sup>-17<sup>00</sup> plus by appointment and during events (summer 2005 closed Aug. 15-31); www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop

★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers Initiative of FA)** - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;

★ **IP-FA / Szczecin** - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.

★ **IP-FA / Silesia** - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa\_silesia@hoga.pl

★ **KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW** (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl

★ **"KROMERA"** - squat/culture centre; ul. Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.

★ **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**

- Krakow - testeyf@kr.edu.pl
- Poznan - lets@poland.com

★ **"LITTLE MARY"** - anarchist squat in Czeszochowa; ul. Warszawska 249/25;

★ **"Mac Pariadka"** - anarchist magazine in polish; pariadka@polbox.com

★ **"PILON"** - underground bar/cafe open Mo-Sa from 6pm; adress: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl web: http://www.pilon.prv.pl

★ **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** - www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. pkropotkin@wp.pl

★ **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** - anarchist female cheer leaders team based in Warszawa. Contact through Emancypunk.

★ **"ROZBRAT"** - squat / anarchist centre, ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

★ **S.E.K.W. "KRZYK"** - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul. Sienkiewicza 25; tel. +48 504878370).

★ **"streRA"** - infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego 1e, tel. 504935357.

★ **"SZWEJK"** - anti-military service; ul. Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31

★ **"TEKNO COLLECTIVE"** - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl

★ **WIEDZMA (the WITCH)** -

anarcha feminist group; PO BOX 3321-500 BIALA PODLASKA; POLAND; witchgirl@poczta.onet.pl; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl

★ **"YA-BANDA"** - anarchist samba band Milanówek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl

## ROMANIA

★ **AACTIV-IST Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome** - anarchist punk group aactivistcollective@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bumcrang.ro

★ **A Nera** - ecological, social and (counter) cultural center; in the mountains Cheile Nerei; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

★ **Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action)** - spleenpatty@yahoo.com

★ **C.A.E. (Craiova Anarho Front)** - anarchist collective from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com

★ **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; g\_a\_rezistenta@yahoo.com www.glugancagra.go.ro

★ **INFO-PROPAGANDA** - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatera@yahoo.com

★ **MISCAREA UNDERGROUND TIMISOARA - (UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT TIMISOARA)**; www.ugtm.go.ro

★ **URA** - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.html

★ **LOVE KILLS** - woman anarchopunk zinc // Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatera@yahoo.com

★ **"Revolta !"** - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

★ **"Revolutionshop"** - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com

★ **www.prolectns.org** - grassroots activist site

★ **www.miscareapunk.go.ro** - site about punk (and not only) in Romania

## RUSSIA

★ **ABC-Moscow** - sp12003@gmail.com; P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)

★ **Alliance of Kazan Anarchists** - antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru

★ **Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia** - PO Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. anliteration@rambler.ru

★ **ANTI-FA Samara** -

anti\_fa@mail.ru

★ **Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA)** - see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact adress

★ **"Epicenter Infoshop"** - Evgeni Fayzulin, PO Box 103, St. Petersburg, 190013 e-mail: epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru http://www.infoshop.spb.ru

★ **FOOD NOT BOMBS**

- Moscow - http://foodnotbombs.net.ru
- Petersburg - see Epicenter contact address
- Kirov - punkauskirov@mail.ru

★ **Free Trade Unions Confederation** - Tomsk; http://kulac.narod.ru

★ **Indymedia Russia** - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; indyru@nadir.org;

★ **indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru** (Moscow);

★ **indymedia\_piter@pochtamt.ru** (Petersburg);

★ **smeshno@riseup.net** (Kiev, Ukraine)

★ **IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation** - www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS; sidorovan@mail.ru

★ **JERRY RUBIN CLUB** - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; jrc@nm.ru; http://jarryclub.narod.ru

★ **KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosyndicalists)** - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier; Perculok Alynova 13 Ky 24; 107258 Moscow; comanar@mail.ru; http://aitrus.narod.ru

★ **"MEGAPHON"** - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; mcgaphon@mail333.com

★ **Network of Working-place Resistance** - cockney@rambler.ru; http://antijob.nm.ru

★ **"NOVIY SVET"** - anarchist newspaper; newworld@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989);

★ **"NOZH I VILKI"** - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@newmail.ru; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia

★ **OLD SKOOL KIDS** - punk/hardcore label and distro; oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nm.ru

★ **Petersburg Antiwar Committee** - see "Noviy Svet" contact adress

★ **Petersburg League of Anarchists** - see "Noviy Svet" contact adress

★ **PUNK REVIVAL** - antifascist and anarchist punks from ST. Petersburg - http://www.punk-revival.com

★ **RAINBOW KEEPERS** - radical environmental movement, Contact addresses:

- Nizhny Novgorod - klem@dront.ru

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE



## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

- **Votkinsk** - votkinskrk@mail.ru  
 - **Kasimov** - rk@rk.ryazan.ru (this is also the address of Troty Put magazine)  
 - **Perm** - puliark@rambler.ru  
 - **Volgograd** - maasha@rambler.ru  
 - **Ekaterinburg** - vty2@mail.ru, dpn@etcl.ru  
 - **Moscow** - rkzrl@scu.ru, blaroba@mail.ru  
 - **Samara** - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru  
<http://duplo.narod.ru>  
 - **Rostov** - rkrostov@don.sitck.net  
 - **Petersburg** - tuuli@mail.ru  
 \* **S.H. SOUND SYSTEM** - label & distro including political punk stuff;  
<http://svinokop.narod.ru>; diyhc@yahoo.com  
 \* **Siberian Confederation of Labour** - Omsk;  
<http://syndikalizm.narod.ru/>  
 \* **"UTOPIA"** - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladimir Tupikin, p.o. box 80, -208, Moscow, 117208, Russia;  
[tonia@mail333.com](mailto:tonia@mail333.com)  
 \* **"Victor Serge's Library"** - anarchist & communist library - City Library no.10, ulitsa Lenyaya Khokhlovka 39/47, metro "Ksistskaya"  
 phone/fax: +7 095 278 8156.  
<http://www.sergelibrary.org/>  
 \* **"VOLYA"** - anarchist newspaper (since 1989);  
[obshtschina@pisem.net](mailto:obshtschina@pisem.net); <http://volja.nm.ru>  
 \* **"ZHESIT"** - anarcho-feminist magazine;  
[zhesit@pisem.net](mailto:zhesit@pisem.net)  
 \* [www.squatting.ru](http://www.squatting.ru) - portal, dedicated to squatter movement!

\* **Contacts of Autonomous Action**  
*Do not write names of the groups to envelopes! Never republish parts of this contact list without this note! Contacts are from Russia, unless specified otherwise.*

\* Federal site is: <http://www.avtonom.org>

\* **Collective members of Autonomous Action.**  
*Name of the group is Autonomous Action - <name of city or region>, unless specified otherwise.*  
 - **Moscow** - P. O. Box 13, 109028 Moscow Russia, taom@scu.ru  
 - **Far East** (has members in Vladivostok and Nahodka) - ad\_primorye@front.ru,  
 - **Ivanovo** - P. O. Box 1842, 153000 Ivanovo Russia, ad\_ivanovo@front.ru  
 - **Irkutsk** - P. O. Box 166, 664058 Irkutsk Russia, clown@rambler.ru  
 - **Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists** - ska-konig@mail.ru, <http://www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru>  
 - **Kem** (Republic of Karelia, Russia) - katousha@onego.ru  
 - **Krasnodar** - P. O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia  
 - **Nizhni Novgorod**, P. O. Box 25, 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia, ad\_nn@mail.ru, [www.nnov.avtonom.org](http://www.nnov.avtonom.org)  
 - **Ryazan** - 137@mail.ru, <http://ad-62.narod.ru>  
 - **Saratov** - koluchka@pochtamt.ru  
 - **Ufa** - ADUfa@mail.ru, <http://u-f-a.org.ru>  
 - **Chelyabinsk** - P. O. Box 18742, 454021 Chelyabinsk Russia, naumov2@mail.ru  
 - <http://commune.narod.ru>  
 - **Yerevan** (Armenia) - m\_eduard@freenet.am

\* **Contacts of individual members of Autonomous Action**  
 - **Astrakhan** - podero@list.ru  
 - **Vsevolzhsk** (Leningrad Region, Russia) - darkpunk@list.ru  
 - **Kirov** - redskin@ptlan.com  
 - **Perm** - P. O. Box 3095, Perm Russia ad-perm@rambler.ru; deadsun@rambler.ru  
 - **Tyumen** - P. O. Box 4481, 625001 Tyumen Russia, roustan\_f@hotmail.com  
 - **Yaroslavl** - ad-yaroslavl@mail.ru

\* **Correspondents of Autonomous Action**  
*(distributors of press of the organisation without a formal membership)*  
 - **Voronezh** - dingir@mail.ru, <http://anarhvm.narod.ru/ad>  
 - **Izhevsk** - projectfreedom@mail.ru; timmad@udm.ru; antiwar@udm.ru  
 - **Yoshkar** - Ola - punk@zvenigovo.ru  
 - **Kolomna** (Moscow Region, Russia) - matherfacker2017@mail.ru  
 - **Naberezhnye Chelny** (Tatarstan, Russia) - anarchist@chelny.com  
 - **Ozersk** (Chelyabinsk Region, Russia) - padlik@bk.ru  
 - **Murmansk** - P. O. Box 4614, 183050 Murmansk Russia.  
 - **Saint Petersburg** - blackguard@mail.ru  
 - **Minsk** (Belarus) - belarus@avtonom.org; [www.belarus.avtonom.org](http://www.belarus.avtonom.org)  
 - **Lida** - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 14, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno Oblast, Belarus  
 - **Donetsk** (Ukraine) - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru  
 - **Sumy** (Ukraine) - P. O. Box 131, Glavpochtamt 40030 Sumy Ukraine, ivangrob@mail.ru

\* **Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:**  
 - <http://ad-direct.newmail.ru> - federal site maintained from Novorossisk  
 - <http://redskin.newmail.ru> - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk  
 - <http://antijob.nm.ru> - site against work, maintained from Moscow  
 - <http://anti-fa.da.ru> - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara  
 - <http://potok.hotmail.ru> - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk  
 - <http://www.ad-nn.narod.ru> - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists  
 - <http://www.poet5.narod.ru> - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod  
 - <http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro> - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union

## SERBIA

\* **ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative** - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); [www.inicijativa.org](http://www.inicijativa.org)  
 \* **Federation of Internationalist Anarchists** - federacija@mlil.net  
 \* **Subwar Collective** - Belgrade; shavedwomen216@yahoo.com  
 \* [www.anarchy-serbia.tk](http://www.anarchy-serbia.tk) - anarcho site from Serbia

\* [www.afanovilsad.tk](http://www.afanovilsad.tk) - Antifa Novi Sad

## SLOVAKIA

\* **AFA-Bratislava** (Antifasistická Akcia Bratislava) - bacity\_afa@yahoo.com  
<http://blava.antifa.net>  
 \* **AFA-West** (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia) - afa\_skj@hotmail.com  
 \* **CIRNY KRIZ** (CK, Black Cross) - ciernykriz@yahoo.com  
 \* **CSAF / Slovakia** (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation) - slovensko@csaf.cz (international contact); regional contacts:  
 \* **CSAF Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz  
 \* **CSAF B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz  
 \* **CSAF Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz  
 \* **CSAF Vychod** - csaf\_sk\_vychod@yahoo.com;  
 \* **PRIAMA AKCIA** (Direct Action) - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava-48; priamankcia@yahoo.com

## SLOVENIA

\* **A-distribution** "Kontrakultura distribucija" - kultura\_kontra@yahoo.com.  
 \* **AKD IZBRUH KULTURNI BAZEN** - autonomous culture centre in squated swimmi-pool in Kranj; [www.akd-izbruh.tk](http://www.akd-izbruh.tk); akd\_izbruh@yahoo.com  
 \* **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - saf.info@email.si  
 \* **Union of self-organised workers** - SiSD/USW - is\_usw@yahoo.com Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

## UKRAINE

\* **Autonomous Action / Donetsk** - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru  
 \* **Autonomous Action / Sumy** - P. O. Box 131, Glavpochtamt 40030 Sumy Ukraine (no name of the group to envelope!); ivangrob@mail.ru  
 \* **INFOSHOP** - infoshop in Kijev; infoshop@gmail.com; Gorki St. 12B, Kiev, open from 1-7PM.  
 \* [www.zaraz.org](http://www.zaraz.org) - page of anarchists from Kyiv  
 \* **TIGRA NIGRA** - anarchist group from Kiev, <http://in.zaraz.org>

## TURKEY

\* **Anarsist Bakis** - <http://go.to/anarsistbakis> - archive of anarchist texts  
 \* **ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent** - abcankara@yahoo.com  
 \* **"Imlasiz"** - [www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net](http://www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net) - anarchist magazine  
 \* **"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz\_dergi@yahoo.com  
 \* **KaosGL** - [www.kaosgl.com](http://www.kaosgl.com) - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine  
 \* **"Kara Kizil"** - <http://www.karakizil.tr.cx> - anarcho-communist group  
 \* <http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net> - anarchoprimitivists  
 \* <http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com> - zine from Ankara  
 \* <http://veganarsicjb.net> - anarchoprimitivist zine  
 \* [www.geocities.com/kaosyayintari](http://www.geocities.com/kaosyayintari) - anarchist publisher in Istanbul  
 \* [www.mecmu-a.org](http://www.mecmu-a.org) - magazine from Istanbul

**THIS LIST CAN BE ENLARGED AND KEPT CURRENT ONLY WITH YOUR HELP. SO WE ARE CALLING ALL GROUPS AND ACTIVISTS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE FOR HELP THROUGH CONTACTING US EACH TIME WHEN YOU REALIZE THAT ANYTHING NEEDS TO BE CHANGED OR ADDED ON THESE THREE PAGES.**



**EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - PROTEST**

*Ekotopia Moldova*

*August 1-14*

*International Call to No  
Border Actions*

*22 - 28 August 2005*

*From the 22nd until the 25th of August in Bulgaria  
and from the 25th until the 28th in Greece*

*G8 Meeting in Russia*

*July 2006*

**S U B S C R I B E T O  
A B O L I S H I N G T H E B O R D E R S F R O M B E L O W**



Are you living in a small village in the South Pole? Are you tired of waiting for our local distros to send you the new ABB? Or maybe you simply like to write us a little letter in order to ask us for the new number? Whatever reason you might have for it, your ABB crew started finally also to think about those needs.

We realize that in some regions there are still a lot of problems getting hold of copies of AbolishingBB, especially in the small villages and cities around EE, plus in all the regions of the globe where no regional distro. teams exist.

From the beginning, our distro. concept would rely on the regional distributors to cover the request of the newspaper. We have realized that this structure is not 100% working, therefore, believing strongly that everyone should/could have the possibility of access to the information and news contained in ABB, so we have decided to attempt to solve this problem by forming a special subscription team within our collective - all this to break the barriers and the borders around us and spread, as much as possible, the noise of the ongoing struggles in eastern Europe, hoping that the wind of anarchy, solidarity and mutual aid, coming out from these experiences, may blow to you.

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For all subscription details, send an email to: [abolishingbb\\_subs@riseup.net](mailto:abolishingbb_subs@riseup.net)

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